

THE
DUBLIN REVIEW

60th YEAR.—No. 237.

1896.

VOL. 118.

APRIL

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SCIENCE NOTES.
NOTES OF TRAVEL AND EXPLORATION.

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THE
DUBLIN REVIEW.

APRIL 1896.

ART. I.—OUR DIAMOND JUBILEE.

The Dublin Review. Vols. I. to LII. London : May 1836—April 1863.

The Dublin Review. New Series. Vols. I. to XXXI. London : July 1863—Oct. 1878.

The Dublin Review. Third Series. Vols. XXXII. (I.)—XXVI. London : Jan. 1879—Oct. 1891.

The Dublin Review. New (Fourth) Series. Vols. CX.—CXVIII. London : Jan. 1892—April 1896.

“ **I**F the history of the DUBLIN REVIEW could be written in full, we suspect it would be as interesting as the narrative of an eventful human life.”

So wrote a year ago the genial and gifted Editor of the *Irish Monthly*, Father Matthew Russell, S.J.*

“ If the secret history of the D.R. were known to the public, how strange it would appear! So often on the point of sinking, yet always rescued—it looks as if heaven regarded it propitiously.”

So wrote over fifty years ago Bishop (afterwards Cardinal) Wiseman, in a letter to Dr. Charles Russell, dated from Oscott, Nov. 9th, 1844.†

* *Irish Monthly*, vol. xxxiii. p. 54, January 1895.

† *Ibid.* p. 56.

These appreciations are brought vividly to our minds by the fact that the present number marks the Diamond Jubilee, or sixtieth anniversary, of the foundation of the REVIEW, whose first quarterly issue bears date May 1836.

It may seem, perhaps, contrary to usage, if not to journalistic etiquette, for a review like ours to celebrate in this form its own Jubilee. We have, however, the example of our predecessors to justify us. Retrospective and autobiographical articles of the kind have been not unfrequent in our pages. Cardinal Wiseman contributed such articles at least twice, in December 1856, and just before the close of the Old Series in November 1862. A very personal article of the kind appeared in the Second Series, in January 1867; and in April 1875, pointed reference was made in the first article to "forty years ago," when the REVIEW was first begun, though the calculation was not exactly accurate. Dr. Ward, on occasion of his retirement from the editorial chair, indulged in a similar retrospect in the number for October 1878. The REVIEW has, therefore, all along preserved and manifested a kind of self-consciousness, and it does not appear altogether inappropriate to signalise the completion of its sixtieth year of life-history in a somewhat similar fashion.

It must be confessed that, to a considerable extent, we have been anticipated. Father Russell, S.J., above referred to, the nephew of Dr. Charles Russell, who, with Cardinal Wiseman and Daniel O'Connell, ranks as one of the "Makers of the DUBLIN," published during the years 1893-5 a series of exceedingly interesting bibliographical articles on the history of our REVIEW in the pages of his own excellent periodical.* These papers, based upon the invaluable MS. documents of his late uncle, threw a flood of light upon the early history of this REVIEW, and especially upon the identification of a large number of writers, of whom he has been able to compile a list, in parts very complete, derived chiefly from the private memoranda of Mr. Bagshawe, the early editor, and of Mr. Cashel Hoey, sub-editor under Dr. Ward. These interesting and entertaining papers of Father Russell are indispensable for anybody wishing to undertake the bibliographical history of

* *Irish Monthly*, vols. xxi. xxii. xxiii.

our REVIEW. Indeed it must occur to every reader that Ireland's gifted poet-priest, and no less charming *littérateur*, was exactly the one writer most fitted to undertake the present memorial article. And it is with deep regret that the present writer records that Father Russell's modesty has prevented him from accepting the suggestion. He has, however, most kindly allowed his own papers in the *Irish Monthly* to be laid fully under contribution for the compilation of the present article, and, moreover, has generously placed at our disposal the MSS. of Cardinal Wiseman and others above referred to.

The general table of contents to the 118 volumes of the REVIEW, which accompanies the present number, may be looked upon to some extent as an appendix to this article. Time and space do not allow the more elaborate attempt of an alphabetical index to the sixty years. But we believe that even the present more modest chronological list will not be without its interest and even practical utility. It was our hope to be able to add, at least to the Original Series, the names of the writers of all the articles. The groundwork for such a compilation is, indeed, to be found in the article of the *Irish Monthly*. We have above mentioned the MS. material which the editor of that periodical had at his disposal for the purpose. The first was a memorandum of Mr. Bagshawe, the early editor, concerning which Father Russell writes :

Through the great kindness of Mrs. Cashel Hoey—herself so distinguished a writer in fiction and in graver departments of literature—the previous little note-book has been placed at last in my hands. It is labelled "DUBLIN REVIEW, 1 to 104," but unfortunately there are gaps in the record. Of the two quarterly parts which form a volume of the REVIEW the first has its writers chronicled on the left-hand page, and the second on the page opposite. Except in one instance towards the end, the articles are specified only by their number, not by subjects.*

For the Second Series, there were available, as we have said, certain memoranda of Mr. Cashel Hoey, the sub-editor. Father Russell continues :

With No. 104 comes to an end the first official record of contributors which Mr. Cashel Hoey inherited from Mr. Bagshawe. As he preserved it carefully and valued it highly, it seems strange that he did not keep a

* *Irish Monthly*, vol. xxi. p. 80.

similar record during the many years that he occupied a position similar to Mr. Bagshawe's in the conduct of the REVIEW. Mrs. Cashel Hoey has been kind enough to show me some memorandum books, in which Dr. Ward's most efficient lieutenant took notes concerning the authorship of certain numbers, but apparently with a view to the carrying out of the principle, "The labourer is worthy of his hire,"*—

that is to say, these memoranda (very imperfect for the rest) appear to name only, or at least chiefly, those contributors to whom *honoraria* had been paid for their articles, so that gaps are of frequent occurrence in the lists. Notwithstanding their incompleteness, Father Russell estimates these editorial records as a "treasure-trove," and their discovery as his "greatest piece of luck" in the department of literary history. Many of the deficiencies he was able to make up from other sources; partly from Dr. Russell's own MSS., consisting, as above remarked, of valuable letters and memoranda, and partly from works since published, in which the contributions of numerous writers to the REVIEW—such as Cardinal Wiseman, Dr. Ward, Dr. Abraham, Mr. Wilberforce, Bishop Grant, Cardinal Manning, and others—have been publicly acknowledged. In a subsequent letter to *The Tablet* Father Russell added the remark: "There are several gaps in the catalogue, which may perhaps be supplied from other sources. For instance, I believe the set of the DUBLIN REVIEW in Oscott College has the writers marked." This was a hint too important to be lost, and the present writer has lately been enabled, through the great kindness of the Rev. Henry Parkinson, D.D., the Vice-President and Librarian of Oscott College, to carefully examine the set in the splendid Oscott Library and collate it with the *Irish Monthly* lists. The result is somewhat curious. To a considerable extent the two authorities coincide. But, unfortunately, they agree also in their *lacunæ*. The Oscott volumes, at least in the earlier series, have the names of authors entered in a neat small handwriting in the table of contents of each. So far, however, from being complete, there are no less than seven quarterly parts† in which the authors' names, though given in Mr. Bagshawe's list in the *Irish Monthly*, are entirely

* *Irish Monthly*, vol. xxi. p. 146.

† Viz., vols. xii. No. 24; xxv. No. 50; xxvi. No. 51; xxvii. No. 53; xxix. No. 58; xl. No. 83; xlvi. No. 91.

absent in the Oscott volumes. Occasionally one or more articles left anonymous in the *Irish Monthly* are marked in the Oscott one; rarely, *vice versa*. More frequently there is a discrepancy between the two lists, and in most of these cases Father Russell, to whom these differences have been submitted, is inclined to consider the Oscott list the more accurate. But in spite of this it is sufficiently clear that the two lists are *practically identical*. Where the *Irish Monthly* list is silent, there the Oscott list fails us too; the volumes indexed at Oscott, with the slight exceptions recorded, just coincide with those indexed in the *Irish Monthly* lists. So that it is evident, either that one of those lists has been copied from the other, or that both are derived from some common original. Whichever be the case, it is to be feared that, unless some other MS. sources exist which have hitherto escaped our notice, data are no longer forthcoming for completing the list of authors of the Original Series of the REVIEW. With the exception of a few odd articles, forty-one volumes alone of the Original Series have had the names of the Reviewers preserved more or less completely. These names will be found appended in brackets to the table of contents now published of that series, the information being derived from the several sources above enumerated. No doubt further research may tend to correct and complete this catalogue.

It had been our intention to treat in a similar manner the contents of the Second, or "Ward" Series. For this purpose, however, we have been able to obtain but very scanty and unsatisfactory data. Moreover, it has occurred to us that, for other reasons, it might be undesirable to unveil the anonymity of the reviewers of this Series. The First Series concluded early in 1863. A generation has passed since then, and for the most part the "Old Dublin Reviewers" themselves belong to history. Of the writers of the Second Series, on the other hand, many are still with us; and literary etiquette might in some cases make it undesirable to publish their names, at least without their own desire. With the opening of the Third Series the reign of the old-fashioned anonymity came to an end, and subsequently nearly all the articles have, in more modern fashion, boldly borne their authors' signatures.

After these preliminary remarks of a bibliographical nature,

we may now turn to consider more strictly the history of the REVIEW itself. In so doing, however, we shall be obliged to disappoint the reader who may expect what Cardinal Wiseman called "the secret history" of the REVIEW. Our object is of a much less ambitious nature, and is limited to a brief sketch of what may more properly be styled "the external history" of the "historic DUBLIN," as it has been so justly called.

I.

The honour of the first inception of the DUBLIN REVIEW is generally attributed, as we have said, to Dr. Wiseman and Daniel O'Connell. Dr. Nicholas Wiseman, at that time (1836) a young man of thirty-four and Rector of the English College in Rome, was just emerging to fame in this country by his literary and scientific attainments. During the preceding year he had read before a select audience in the apartments of Cardinal Weld in Rome his *Lectures on the Connection between Science and Revealed Religion*. O'Connell was in the midst of the most exciting period of his stirring career. Strange to say, however, Cardinal Wiseman, in the preface to his *Essays on Various Subjects* (1853) assigns the honour to a third person, the first editor, Mr. Michael J. Quin, writing: "It was in 1836 that the idea of commencing a Catholic Quarterly was first conceived by the late learned and excellent Mr. Quin, who applied to the illustrious O'Connell and myself to join in the undertaking."

The first quarterly part of this most important venture, "the Catholic rival to the Whig *Edinburgh Review* and the Tory *Quarterly*," duly appeared with the date May 1836, and has continued ever since, in spite of all dangers and difficulties, in unbroken quarterly succession up to the present number. It is curious to remark that for a good many years the appearance of the parts was by no means as regular as we should have expected. The actual month of issue was more or less unsettled; in fact, strange as it may appear, during the first dozen years of its existence there is not a single month of the year whose name does not figure on at least one or two of the quarterly issues.* Complete regularity in this matter does not seem

* To quote a few examples: January 1838, 1839, 1847; February 1840-43;

to have been attempted until the opening of the Second Series.

The subsequent history of the REVIEW falls into four periods: The first is that of the Original Series, which may be fairly styled the "Wiseman-Russell series," from the two eminent *littérateurs* to whom the lion's share of the work and the chief credit of its high literary excellence are undoubtedly due. This series, as already stated, lasted from May 1836, to April 1863, filling fifty-two consecutive half-yearly volumes. The "New Series" which followed, from July 1863, to October 1878—occupying thirty-one half-yearly volumes, and appearing at the regular quarterly intervals, and in the months (January, April, July, and October) which have now become stereotyped—was pre-eminently the "Ward Series," during which the remarkable personality of that able and trenchant philosopher, Dr. W. G. Ward, who combined in himself the functions of both proprietor and editor, completely predominates the life-history of the REVIEW, and gives to this series an individual *cachet* all its own.

The retirement of Dr. Ward, and the passing of the proprietorship into the hands of Bishop (now Cardinal) Vaughan, and of the editorship into those of the learned Bishop of Newport, Dr. Hedley, mark the opening of the "Third Series," on comparatively novel lines. This series embraced twenty-six half-yearly volumes, lasting from January 1879, to October 1891. Finally, with the passing of the editorship into the present hands, the actual, or "Fourth Series," began with the January number of 1892.

The choice of the title of the REVIEW was dictated partly, we should imagine, by way of distinctive contrast with the *Edinburgh*—the name of the Irish capital symbolising a country as essentially Catholic, as that of the Scottish capital seemed suggestive of Knox and Calvinism; and partly because it was intended to appeal very largely for its support, both monetary and literary, to the Green Isle of Erin, whose verdant livery has ever been the distinctive colour of the DUBLIN, and whose national arms, with the old motto *Eire go bráth*, in the proper

March 1844-46; April 1837, 1838; May 1836, 1839, 1840-43; June 1844-46; July 1836-38; August 1839-43; September 1844-46; October 1837, 1838; November 1839-42; December 1836, 1843-45.

Erse characters, duly figured on the cover of every number of the Original Series, and in smaller form in those of the Second Series. The REVIEW has, indeed, from the beginning always been published in London, but the connection with Ireland was from its earliest days very close. At least one-half, often-times much more, of the literary matter of the original series was produced in Ireland ; and Irish topics, political, social, educational, or literary, constantly occupied an important share of each quarter's bill of fare. A glance at the table of contents for the earlier years will show this. The first editor, to whom Cardinal Wiseman gives the credit of the original conception of the REVIEW, was Mr. M. J. Quin, a native of Thurles, in Tipperary, a journalist and lawyer of some note in his time (born 1796, died 1843). He, however, edited only the first two quarterly numbers. The third number (December 1836) was edited by the well-known historical writer, the Rev. M. A. Tierney, and the fourth and fifth (April and July 1837) by Mr. James Smith of Edinburgh, whose son was the learned Dr. William Smith, afterwards second Archbishop of St. Andrews and Edinburgh. With the sixth number, the young magazine at last obtained a permanent editor in the person of Mr. H. R. Bagshawe, who retained the editorial chair till the accession of Dr. Ward in 1863. The causes of this uncertainty of tenure in the editorial office were, alas ! of the financial kind, which too often dog the steps of an incipient literary venture. Father Russell cites a rather pathetic letter of Quin to O'Connell dated from 25 Southampton Row, Russell Square, January 2, 1837, in which he says :

In obedience to your opinion, which to me is law, I have surrendered all claim upon the REVIEW funds for any compensation whatever. . . . The question which now remains to be settled is this—In what mode is the REVIEW to be henceforth continued? Its existence is a matter of great importance to religion, to Ireland, to the popular cause. It is impossible that I should edit and write without being paid. A fund should be supplied adequate to pay the editor a reasonable salary, and to remunerate contributors for their articles. Whence is this fund to proceed? This is a question necessary to be answered as soon as possible, in order that preparations should be made forthwith for the fourth number. I have no objection still to continue editor if you wish it, but I cannot give any more of my time to the journal without remuneration.

In writing and in cash I have already advanced to the REVIEW upwards of £300. Is it reasonable that I alone should be called upon to make such a sacrifice as this? *

Publishers, too, were doomed to suffer from "that eternal want of pence that vexes public men." The first publisher was "William Spooner, 377 Strand." With 1838, "Booker and Dolman, 61 New Bond Street," appear on the title-page; changed next year to "C. Dolman (nephew and successor to J. Booker)," the address remaining as before. In 1845 Dolman was succeeded by Richardson and Son, and in 1862 the Richardsons by the firm at first known as "Burns and Lambert," then as "Burns, Lambert, and Oates," and finally by its present style of "Burns and Oates." Of the financial difficulties of the early years, we learn a good deal from a long letter of Mr. Charles Dolman to Mr. Daniel O'Connell, M.P., dated February 11, 1839, which is among the MSS. so obligingly placed at our disposal by Father Russell. Dolman has much to say of the difficulties and risks of the undertaking, in which Mr. Richards (the printer) and himself "have both lost so much." "I undertook," he says in a subsequent letter (March 29, 1843), "to be responsible for the payments required to carry on the REVIEW under the direction and editorship of Bishop Wiseman† for the period of four years upon the assurance of support from the guarantee fund which terminated with the last year." He again complains that he has been a severe loser, and then details a new plan proposed by Dr. Wiseman, and which amounts to this—that the writers of articles shall receive "a joint interest in the REVIEW, and will be content to receive the proceed of the sales, after paying the printing expenses, for their remuneration." We also gather from these letters that O'Connell's annual contribution to the guarantee fund was £25. In a letter of December 14, 1843, Dolman, acknowledging a last instalment, thanks the great Irish statesman very warmly for his powerful aid and protection, and for having recommended the REVIEW to the Irish clergy. He thinks that it has hitherto had but slight support from that quarter, though he is—

* *Irish Monthly*, vol. xxi. pp. 138, 139.

† Dr. Wiseman had meanwhile been nominated Coadjutor Vicar-Apostolic, and consecrated Bishop of Melipotamus in 1840.

But too well aware that there has been on some occasions reasons why perhaps the REVIEW would not [sic] and was not well received by them, and justly so; but I trust no such occasion will ever occur again and that past errors being forgot and forgiven, the REVIEW will reap the benefit of that union and support for want of which it has hitherto languished.

Daniel O'Connell long before this had published under date February 18, 1838, his lithographed letter to the Irish Bishops in favour of the REVIEW, "of which I am one of the proprietors." He says in the document:

The object with which this publication was instituted was and is to afford the Catholic literature of these countries a fair and legitimate mode of exhibiting itself to the people of the British Empire, and especially to the people of Ireland, in the shape most likely to produce a permanent as well as useful effect. The other quarterly publications are in the hands either of avowed and malignant enemies of Catholicity, or what is worse, insidious and pretended friends, who affect a false liberality at the expense of Catholic doctrine.

The DUBLIN REVIEW, though not intended for purely polemical discussion, contains many articles of the deepest interest to the well-informed Catholic disputant. The name of Dr. Wiseman, who is also a proprietor of the work, ensures the orthodoxy of the opinions contained in it, and will be admitted to be in itself a pledge of the extent, and depth, and variety of its scientific, as well as theological information.*

O'Connell's reference to the importance of Wiseman's share in the undertaking was no whit exaggerated. The evidence of this is to be found in his constant contribution of admirable articles to the pages of the REVIEW. These articles, of high literary merit and containing a wealth of erudition, cover a wide field ranging from theology and patristic learning to the fine arts and *belles lettres*. Many of them are of permanent value. But over and above this, Wiseman was practically the literary editor of the REVIEW, Bagshawe being little more than a business editor. This is abundantly proved by his correspondence with Dr. Russell, much of which lies before us as we write. He is constantly discussing the articles to be accepted or rejected, suggesting modifications, enumerating the stock in hand for forthcoming numbers, sketching projected series or individual articles, criticising, questioning, exulting, or com-

* M. F. Cusack, "The Liberator; his Life and Times," p. 643. (London, 1872.)

plaining, as things go satisfactorily or the contrary. The impression left by a perusal of those letters—models, by the way, of neatness and accuracy in penmanship and composition, in spite of the almost crushing stress of official work, especially after the erection of the Hierarchy—is that the REVIEW was Wiseman's pet child. He writes about it with the anxiety of a father for its future, his solicitude for present weakness, his joy and pride at success achieved and commendation won from strangers. We must be allowed to make a few extracts :

I find every one pleased with Mr. Marshall's paper [“Developments of Protestantism,” March 1846], though long. Mr. Newman has spoken to me of it in high admiration.—(Letter, April 27, 1846.)

And again :

The other day I was at the British Museum Library, when Panizzi spoke to me with great praise of your article on Hippolytus [“The Newly found Treatise against All Heresies,” December 1852]. He told me he had urged several of the very same objections to Mr. Bunsen. But the way he read the article was this : Cureton brought it to him, saying that Bunsen himself had given it him to peruse, he was so much pleased by the gentlemanly and scholarlike tone which pervaded it, and the respect with which he was treated, all which presented such a contrast to the manner in which he had been handled in some Protestant reviews.

From conversation with Panizzi I am convinced that the DUBLIN REVIEW is much more known, and exercises much more influence than we think. Panizzi knows the old numbers and articles, and told me how he had read them to friends in the library. Let us have a good number next time. (Letter, January 30 [1853].)

Elsewhere : “I am quite overwhelmed with subjects for the REVIEW.” Then comes a list of four important articles he is planning, on Scripture and theology, after which he adds : “My light article I find is popular, but I fear people are attributing it to me.”

(This was an amusing article in the preceding number, September 1849, entitled “The Art of Puffing.”) The very next sentence is prophetic, and shows what was going on in the minds of Wiseman and others at the time, the very year before the Hierarchy : “I have heard nothing from Rome about the Primacy, but I fear much.” (Letter, Bexhill, October 17, 1849.)

Some time before this, in a letter referring to some necessary

alterations in papers contributed by some of the recent Oxford converts, Oakeley, Morris, and others, we meet the gratifying remark : "There was not the slightest difficulty in getting them all modified. Nothing can exceed the docility of our converts." (Letter, December 4, 1846.) In a later letter, pleading extra pressure of business, the newly made Cardinal tells his faithful correspondent "we have been talking over plans for improving the REVIEW and combining it with a paper" (London, December 18, 1850). But, fortunately, perhaps, the "combination" never came off. Sometimes we find him criticising the REVIEW, and himself as well. Thus :

The REVIEW is not deep. It wants some more reasoning and original articles ; there seems to me to be too much extract and mere analysis of works As for my own article ["The Bible in Maynooth," September, 1852] it was written far too hurriedly, and I ran off the rails, and could not bring out what I wanted. Let us get something good for next time. (Letter, October 2, 1852.)

A few months later we have the following interesting comments :

Do you not think we are getting into too few hands? Ward, De Morgan, Christie, Newman, Allies, &c., have written for us, and now literally we are alone with Robertson and Dr. Charlton. The rest are chiefly extract papers. Surely the convert element ought to be more cultivated. . . . I see the growing narrowness of our work, and deplore it. Never a paper on Physics, Astronomical discoveries, Chemistry, Electricity, Steam, Railroads, Physiology, Medicine, Geology, Botany, Law reform, not even on politics in their wider sense. Never any article on foreign countries except the bleak North—I mean an original paper. . . . As to myself, besides Lent duties which increase as the season advances, I am now more and more overpowered by extraneous business, which makes me feel the difference between a Bishop or V. A. and an Archb^o., especially when Card^l. (Letter, Walthamstow, February 18, 1853.)

The ever-growing pressure of business did not, however, prevent the great Cardinal either from continuing to contribute admirable articles of his own to the REVIEW, or from following with undiminished solicitude its career. Three years later—at the very moment he was recovering "from that shabby complaint, influenza, which throws none of the dignity or sympathy of illness around one"—he finds time to indite a long epistle containing somewhat similar criticisms to those

above quoted, but also adding a projected programme of topics which he conceives ought to be discussed in the pages of the REVIEW. This syllabus is of sufficient interest to quote almost in full. It runs thus :

IRELAND.

1. The State Church.
2. The Catholic representation—its discharge of its duties, &c.
3. Education, and the efforts making to thwart and undermine ours.
4. Proselytism—its history and condition.
5. Maynooth—Queen's College—Universities.
6. Land Question, Encumbered Estates Court—results of late changes in the population—emigration, colonisation, &c.
7. Agricultural and commercial industry, Flax, Fisheries, &c.

ENGLAND.

8. Progress of Religion—and its wants.
9. Infidelity, its spread and remedies.
10. Puseyism—Dennison, &c.
11. Charitable trusts.
12. Political position of Catholics.
13. Education.

FOREIGN.

14. English and French alliance, every day becoming a more delicate subject.
15. Concordats—Austria, Würtenburg [*sic*], Tuscany, and Spain—perhaps Russia. (My lectures on the Concordat having been translated into Italian and German have gone through several editions. In Austria especially they have been much read. The Pope has read them, and expressed himself much pleased.)
16. Defence of Cath. powers from the calumnies of the press. . . .
17. The true character of the liberal party on the Continent—Mazzini, &c. (It is certain that all written on such subjects is read with great avidity in the Clubs. Mr. Bowyer's two arts. on Spain and Sardinia, for which I furnished the documents, have done much good.)
18. The theological literature of the Continent. . . .

It seems to me that such matters as come under these heads should be treated upon clear and definite principles, and every number should bring one or more before the Catholic mind so as to work it up into a clear and consistent view. (Letter, November 7th, 1856.)

We learn from this same letter that "the root of the evil" is still "the want of adequate means" to attract writers of talent by suitable *honoraria*. "If anything happened to Richardson, we should be lost," the writer concludes.

We ought, perhaps, to apologise for these lengthy extracts, but they seem required to do justice to the illustrious prelate who was really the Father of the DUBLIN REVIEW, as well as to give an adequate impression of the high ideal, the noble aims which inspired him all during the more than quarter of a century of his intimate connection with it.

From Wiseman's private letters we may turn to one or two articles published in the REVIEW which convey the same lessons. In one, entitled "The Present Catholic Dangers" (December 1856), he gives the following summary of the twenty years' life, then just completed, of the periodical :

During the twenty years' existence of this REVIEW, during vicissitudes and struggles not easily paralleled in the history of such publications, we believe it entitled to one commendation. It was established for an end which it has steadily kept in view. Thoroughly able and willing to sympathise with the difficulties, the traditions, the deep-worn feelings of Catholics, almost before the dawn of the brighter era of conversion, church-building, educational movement, and religious bibliopolism had appeared on the horizon, its conductors endeavoured, gently and gradually, to move forward the Catholic mind without shocking or violently drawing away, or aside, thoughts familiar to it, and growing side by side with its best inheritance. They avoided all the troubled waters and eddies of domestic contention ; nor is it among the least of many praises due to the illustrious O'Connell, who was one of its founders, that, wrapped up as his whole external life was in politics, he consented that the new quarterly should not involve itself in their vortex, even to advocate his own views, but should steer its own course along a calmer stream, and try to bear along with it peaceful and consenting minds.

Whatever seemed useful to forward the interests of Catholics, just released from the thraldom of ages, to suggest greater boldness, opener confession of faith, better taste, and especially greater familiarity with the resources of Catholic ritual, Catholic devotion, or Catholic feeling, was diligently studied and carried on, for years, with a steady purpose, that did its work.*

And when the original series was just drawing to its close, in the last quarterly issue but one before it passed into other hands, and little more than a couple of years before his death, the great Cardinal, in that noble article "On Responsibility," the very last he ever contributed to the pages of the work with which he had so long identified himself, penned a passage of

* O. S., vol. xli. pp. 441, 442.

such dignity and beauty that we may well quote it, both as his own literary epitaph and as his last message and testament to those who should come after him in the conduct of his REVIEW. It is as follows :

From the first number to this, every article has been written, or revised, under the sense of the most solemn responsibility to the Church, and to her Lord. If we have been reproached, it has been rather for severity in exclusion than for laxity in admission. Many an article has been ejected rather than rejected, even after being in type, because it was found not to accord with the high and strict principles from which its editorship has never swerved, and which it has never abated. To him who has conducted it for so many years a higher praise could scarcely be given; and by no one, we are sure, has it ever been better deserved. That occasionally an article or a passage may have crept in which did not perfectly come up to the highest standard of ecclesiastical judgment, is not only possible but probable. Absence, hurry, pressing occupation, ill-health, or even inadvertence and justifiable confidence, will be sufficient to account for an occasional deviation from rule, should any one think he detects it. If so, we are certain he will find its corrective or its rectification in some other place.

For from first to last, as we have said, this REVIEW has been guided by principles fixed and unalterable; and those who have conducted it have done so with the feeling that they must render an account of all that they admitted. However long may be its duration, and under whatever auspices, we are sure that the same deep, earnest, and religious sense will pervade its pages and animate its conductors, that their occupation is a sacred one, a deputation to posterity that our children's children may know how we adhered to the *true faith* of their fathers, how we bore with patience and *gentleness* the persecutions of our enemies, and how we never swerved from *justice* to friend or foe. Our motto may well be "PROPTER VERITATEM, ET MANSUETUDINEM ET JUSTITIAM."*

Vast as was the share of Cardinal Wiseman in the life and success of the REVIEW, it may be doubted whether the periodical would ever have survived its early trials, but for the co-operation of that other eminent and brilliant scholar, who all through those long years was Wiseman's chief lieutenant and comrade in arms, Dr. Charles Russell of Maynooth. From the literary point of view, Dr. Russell had certainly the lion's share of the actual work. His first article ("Versions of the Scriptures") contributed when he was a young professor of twenty-four, appeared in the second

* O. S. vol. lii. pp. 183, 184.

quarterly issue of the Old Series (July 1836); his last, "The Critical History of the Sonnet," is to be found in the fifty-fourth and fifty-fifth numbers of the Second Series (October 1876, and January 1877). During this space of forty years, Dr. Russell was the most constant and most indefatigable of contributors; and the wide range of the subjects treated, well characterised by the titles of his first and best papers above cited, rivalled that of Wiseman's and gave evidence of the vast erudition, the high literary skill, and the versatile culture of one who may perhaps claim to have been the most gifted Catholic scholar of our times. For twenty years, he contributed absolutely to every number of the REVIEW; and before 1860, a very large number of issues contain not one, but several papers from his prolific and graceful pen; in at least one instance he is credited with no less than five articles. His articles were no mere "pot-boilers." Very many of them were of the highest merit. We have seen Bunsen's appreciation of the one concerning himself. Another elaborate study on Lord Rosse's telescopes won him the esteem and life-long friendship of that distinguished astronomer.

Our title of contents, imperfect as it is, will show the other and eminent Catholic writers of the day who formed part of the brilliant staff gathered round Wiseman and Russell. Dr. Lingard contributed at least three articles—one on "Dodd's Church History of England" (May 1839); one entitled "Did the Anglican Church Reform herself?" (May 1840); and one on "The Ancient Church of England and the Liturgy of the Anglican Church" (August 1841). Newman, apparently, wrote but a single article for the REVIEW, the one upon Keble's "Lyra Innocentium," in the issue of June 1846. The learned Drs. Murray and Croly, of Maynooth, were very frequent contributors. So were Dr. Abraham, M.P., Professor Robertson, J. F. Palmer, and of course the Editor, Mr. Bagshawe, besides others too numerous to cite here. One article, the first in the issue for February 1843, is assigned in the editorial list to John, Earl of Shrewsbury; to this Father Russell appends the remark: "It proves to be an article of 66 pages on Recent Charges delivered by Protestant prelates, among them Henry Edward Manning, Archdeacon of Chichester. If the Earl wrote the learned article, he must

have been helped by his chaplain."* The present Lord Chief Justice of England is credited with a single article, in the issue for August 1860, on "The Civil Correspondence of Wellington." In the Oscott list this is recorded as by "Mr. Chas. A. Russell, Bar., London, nephew of Dr. Russell." The article on "Carlyle's Works," in the issue for September 1850, which Carlyle, according to Froude, found to be "excellently serious," and conjectured to be from the pen of Dr. Ward, turns out to have been written by John O'Hagan, then a young Newry barrister of twenty-eight, afterwards Mr. Justice O'Hagan, who appears once more in July 1873, with an article on the O'Keefe case.

A word should be said of the style of these "Old Dublin Reviewers." It partakes of the prevalent "quarterly" style of its time, grave, dignified, erudite; each article commencing with a deliberate "exordium" of more or less rhetorical character, with reflections of a very general nature, sometimes *geminio ab ovo*, and occasionally rather remote from the subject in hand. The strict REVIEW form is also maintained, and every article "hangs upon its own proper peg," in the form of a book or books, or even *The Times* newspaper, duly cited at its head. Our more busy times, perhaps, would be impatient of this old-fashioned and stately procedure. Yet, it cannot be denied that the old "Dublins" have a charm of erudition and style all their own. "What treasures of orthodox erudition," to quote Father Russell once more, "are contained in those old volumes What labour, thought, learning, and piety of many hearts and minds are represented in this long series of half-yearly tomes!"†

The list of articles has, too, its historical value. Looked at chronologically, it presents a complete picture of the history of Catholic thought and life for the best part of this century. Beginning almost before the first stirring of the waters of the "Oxford movement," and under the very shadow of penal days, the succeeding volumes gradually introduce us to the full strife of those intellectually stirring times, with Wiseman as the protagonist on the Catholic side. In No. 13 (August 1839) we come, with almost a shock of glad surprise, upon the now

* *Irish Monthly*, vol. xxi. p. 85.

† *Ibid.* vols. xxi. p. 90; xxii. p. 637.

historical article, nay upon the very page and the very footnote (vol. vii. p. 154) of that article, of which we knew from his own words that it was the "shadow of the hand upon the wall," to John Henry Newman—the protagonist on the Anglican side—and the means in God's Providence which was to decide his future for him. That simple footnote on p. 154 contains "the palmary words of St. Augustine," *securus judicat orbis terrarum*—which ever afterwards, Newman tells us in his *Apologia*, "kept ringing in my ears," and "struck me with a power which I had never felt from words before. . . . By those great words of the ancient Father, the theory of the *Via Media* was absolutely pulverised." And, he adds, "he who has seen a ghost cannot be as if he had never seen it." If the DUBLIN REVIEW had no other title to gratitude, it might securely rest its fame on having given to the world that Article VI. of its 13th quarterly number, whose effect has been more far-reaching than that of any other magazine article ever written. Little by little, the leaders of the Tractarian movement, from being opponents to be fought with and convinced, come over to us one by one, and in their turn take their places in our ranks as contributors to the REVIEW. Ward, Oakeley, and Marshall simultaneously appear together (as far as our deficient records inform us) in the March issue of 1846: the two first-named become very frequent contributors. Morris, Christie, Formby, Capes, Allies, Anderdon, Manning (December 1854), Ffoulkes, and other converts of note gradually appear in the list, side by side with the members of the older staff. Meanwhile, we have come to the epoch of the Hierarchy, and the new Cardinal Archbishop himself in two consecutive numbers (December 1850, and March 1851), presents the Catholic view of that burning question. And similarly—space will not allow us to give further examples—all the great contemporary movements in Church and State, in education and literature, in scientific discovery and exploration, are faithfully reflected, as in a mirror, in the DUBLIN'S table of contents. One could compile a history of the times from the contemporary pages of the old DUBLIN alone.

Before laying aside for good the volumes of the Original Series, we may add one or two little items, rather of interest than of importance, that we have jotted down in the course of

our pleasant task of examining these old tomes. Lady writers are by no means the novelty people might imagine them to be in our grave quarterly. The first paper by a lady appears as early as the fourth volume, being on "Irish Novels and Irish Novelists" (April 1838), attributed to Mrs. Fitzsimons. This lady was a daughter of Daniel O'Connell. It is also somewhat surprising to note that the early REVIEW was not always shy of illustrations: Plates or wood-cuts adorn several articles on architecture and archæology,* as well as the one above referred to on Rosse's telescopes.† Wiseman, in his letters to Russell, several times complains of the length of articles. No wonder; in Vol. xlvi., No. 92 (June 1859), an article by Finlayson, on "The Government of the Papal States," actually occupies 125 pages! By way of contrast, the following year in Vol. xlviii. No. 96 (August 1860), Miss St. John contents herself with a space of a little over five and a half pages for her last article. Editors must have been made of less stern stuff in those days than in ours.

But lest we should yield to the temptation of becoming garrulous, without the excuse of old age, we must regretfully close the venerable tomes of the "Wiseman-Russell" era, and turn our attention, though more briefly, to the series which followed.

II.

A decided alteration, both in outward appearance and in style and tendency, marks the "New Series," which began in July 1863, with Dr. W. G. Ward as proprietor and editor, and Mr. Cashel Hoey as sub-editor. Dr. Ward's own tastes and talents very naturally impressed themselves strongly upon his REVIEW. Metaphysics now tended to come more and more to the front in the literary *menu*. Dr. Ward was the chief antagonist of John Stuart Mill, and esteemed by that philosopher as the foeman best worthy of his steel. Hence much of the long metaphysical duel between those two powerful minds was fought out in the pages of the DUBLIN. Three other lines of thought were also represented by Dr. Ward's own writings in the REVIEW during

* Vols. ix. No. 18; x. No. 20; xii. No. 23; xix. No. 37.

† Vol. xviii. No. 35.

this time, one regarding the Papal Infallibility, another touching the "Relations between Religion and Politics," and the third on the burning question of Catholics and the higher Education. In a memorial article by Cardinal Manning on the occasion of Ward's death (Third Series, October 1882), a list is given of all Ward's contributions under these heads (pp. 268-270), to which the reader may be referred. We must remark, however, that he will find some considerable discrepancies between these lists and that compiled from the memoranda of Mr. Cashel Hoey in the *Irish Monthly* (April 1893). Cardinal Manning, in the article referred to, writes as follows :

What [THE REVIEW] owed to him during the sixteen years in which he was not only editor but chief contributor, and what aid even after he had ceased to conduct it, he still gave by a constant series of philosophical writings, is well known. And yet the importance of his work is perhaps fully known only to a few who were in immediate contact with him and with the DUBLIN REVIEW. The great success of the first series of the DUBLIN REVIEW, when it was sustained by the contributions of the illustrious group of men who surrounded the late Cardinal Wiseman in his early career, had by the same order of time and nature by which we also are now deprived, began to decline. In the year 1862 Cardinal Wiseman gave to me the legal proprietorship of the DUBLIN REVIEW on the condition that I would ensure its continuation. After certain preliminary endeavours Mr. Ward accepted in full the responsibility of editor. He has stated that all articles passed under the judgment of three censors, who were charged to examine the bearing of them on faith, morals, and ecclesiastical prudence. From the time he undertook the office of editor, he threw himself into it as the work and way in which, as a layman, he was to serve the Church. . . . Perhaps the only other contemporaneous example of the all but identity of an editor with his periodical is Brownson's Review. In both cases the power of mind in the editor impressed a dominant character upon the work. This fact may have made the REVIEW less interesting to general readers, but it greatly increased its intrinsic value. . . . The second series of the DUBLIN REVIEW did not rank among literary magazines, but it fairly won and kept its place among the weightier and more serious quarterly periodicals.*

Ward himself, in what he justly styles a "personal" article, contributed to Vol. viii. No. 15 of his periodical (January 1867), in the form of a review of his own fourteen preceding numbers, defends the new series with considerable spirit from two adverse criticisms, the one directed against "what is con-

* N. S. vol. viii. pp. 265, 266.

sidered the undue preponderance given by us to theology," the other, "that our tone is too peremptory and overbearing, that we erect our own private opinion into a kind of shibboleth (as it has been expressed to us); and that we speak of those who oppose our own private views just as though they opposed the Church's authoritative teaching."* Those were, indeed, the days of hot controversy and hard hitting all round. Very warm waxed the warfare round dogmatic questions like the Vatican Council, the Papal Infallibility and its extent, the Syllabus, and religious "liberalism," and round the vexed questions of our Catholic colleges and the National Universities. The atmosphere in which the "Ward Series" lived was therefore essentially polemical, both with regard to external foes and to internal disputants. In the concluding number of the Series (October 1878), Cardinal Manning in a "Letter" which forms the first article gives a general approval to the line taken up by Ward in the course of these controversies. His Eminence also adds :

In the course of this period three special subjects of great moment have been forced both by events and by anti-Catholic public opinion upon our attention—I mean the Temporal Power of the Holy See, the relations of the Spiritual and Civil Powers, and the Infallibility of the Head of the Church. In all these your vigilant and powerful writings have signally contributed to produce the unity of mind which exists among us, and a more considerate and respectful tone even in our antagonists.†

As we have said, we are not writing the "secret history" of the DUELIN, that is a matter to be left to a future, and a more remote generation. The very wide difference of opinion and the almost acrimonious tone of discussion which they engendered among men of the highest intellectual and spiritual excellence have left traces both in published articles and in private correspondence. We can now afford to look back calmly on the burning domestic questions of twenty years ago, and to recognise the earnestness of purpose and conviction of the disputants of both sides.

In his reply to Cardinal Manning's gracious message, Ward,

* N. S. vol. viii. pp. 164, 167.

† *Ibid.* vol. xxxi. pp. 275, 276.

in the same number, pays a handsome tribute to his faithful lieutenant :

It has been the chief felicity [he says] of my editorial lot, that I have obtained the co-operation of one so eminently qualified to supply these deficiencies as Mr. Cashel Hoey. It was once said to me most truly, that he has rather been joint-editor than sub-editor. One-half of the REVIEW has been in some sense under his supreme control; and it is a matter of extreme gratification to look back at the entire harmony which has prevailed from the first between him and myself. In the various anxieties which inevitably beset me from time to time, he has invariably shown himself, not only to be a calm and sagacious adviser, but even more, to be the most cordial and sympathetic of friends.*

The staff of writers gathered around Ward and Cashel Hoey was also a very brilliant one. Dr. Russell, indeed, as we have seen, continued his active co-operation up to the beginning of 1877, as also did Dr. Murray. The latter's article, "The Vatican Council, its Authority and Work," in the issue for January 1873, was considered by Dr. Ward, we are told,† "the best paper he had ever sent to him," during the same series. Prof. St. George Mivart commenced his long critical "Examination of Herbert Spencer's Psychology," which continued its career right into the Third Series. Other writers who contributed to the Series were Mr. Edward Healy Thompson, Father Anderdon, S.J., Father Coleridge, S.J., Mr. J. C. Earle, Mr. W. H. Wilberforce, Canon Oakeley, Canon (afterwards Bishop) Hedley, Father Roger Bede Vaughan, O.S.B. (afterwards Archbishop of Sydney), Father Herbert Vaughan, D.D. (now our Cardinal Archbishop), Mr. Allies, Dr. Ives (the converted Bishop of the Episcopal Church of America), Mr. David Lewis, Mr. Marshall, and of course, both Mr. and Mrs. Cashel Hoey. These names, at least, besides a few others, have been preserved for us in the sub-editor's memoranda, which are unfortunately very incomplete. Father Russell opines that the touching "filial memorial" on the death of Cardinal Wiseman, which opens the April issue for 1865, was penned by Dr. Manning, so soon to succeed to the vacant archiepiscopal throne. That "memorial" contains Cardinal Wiseman's own memorandum, dated Easter 1853,

* N. S. pp. 277, 278.

† *Irish Monthly*, vol. xxi. p. 209.

narrating the origin and early history of the DUBLIN, which appeared as preface to his volume of Essays issued in that year, and from which we have already quoted. It also records the fact that :

In the last two years since it passed into other hands the declining health of our lamented Cardinal compelled him to postpone again and again the kind and encouraging promises he made to us of contributions from his pen. No line written by him has therefore appeared in it.*

The following well-merited panegyric of Wiseman's work in the old series is added :

If at the end of our labours the second series of the DUBLIN REVIEW should yield from all the hands which may contribute to it three volumes of essays worthy to stand afar off by those of Cardinal Wiseman, for beauty, variety, learning, freshness, originality, above all, for pure, solid Catholic doctrine and high filial devotion to Rome, we shall hope that we have not failed in the trust which he has bequeathed to us.

III.

The final number of the Second or "Ward Series" of the REVIEW (October 1878), concluding its thirty-first volume, contained a fly-leaf with the following announcement :

"The historic DUBLIN," now in the forty-second year of its existence, has been made over by Mr. W. G. WARD to his Lordship the Bishop of Salford. On the first of January the first number of a new, or Third Series, will appear, under the editorship of the Right Rev. Bishop HEDLEY.

While faithfully adhering to the great Catholic principles, for the maintenance of which it came into existence, and which have been its *raison d'être* and its very life for over forty years, the DUBLIN REVIEW will now undergo certain modifications, calculated to render it more widely popular and more acceptable to a larger number of tastes and interests.

The REVIEW, in its Third Series, will aim at maintaining its traditional high standard of Theological and Metaphysical Science; in its Historical, Literary, and Political Articles it will endeavour to combine solidity and usefulness with brilliancy of treatment; and each number will contain a Summary of the contents of Foreign Catholic Contemporary Periodicals, Short Notices of all New Catholic Works, and a Quarterly Review of Science.

* N. S. vol. iv. p. 270.

The work of the DUBLIN REVIEW will be, as heretofore, to deepen Catholic intellectual life; to promote Catholic interests; to enlighten and assist those who are seeking for Catholic truth; to utter warnings against dangers to Faith and practice; and to diminish as far as possible that friction, arising from national, local, or personal narrowness, which retards the onward march of Catholic principle. Its motto, as that of all Catholic journals, must be—Truth, Culture, and Conciliation.

In order to render the REVIEW the more interesting, all the articles will be signed with the names of the writers.

The strict rule of anonymity had already been partially relaxed in the Second Series. The "Historical Notes of the Tractarian Movement," which appeared in its earlier issues, were signed by their author, Canon Oakeley. Initials, like M. D. T., T. F. M. (*i.e.*, Mathew), and R. E. G., were occasionally allowed to appear. Papers by Mr. St. G. Mivart (October 1876), Father H. Formby (January 1877), and the Hon. W. (afterwards Lord) Petre (July 1878), were published over their authors' full names; the object of Dr. Ward being to allow certain of his contributors liberty to express views with which he did not desire the REVIEW or its editor to be identified. In the Third Series the signing of articles was carried out as a principle, though by no means uniformly observed: in No. 9 (January 1881), only a single article, by Bishop Spalding, is signed, or acknowledged! By degrees, however, the custom became practically universal. Librarians will do well to note that for the first four volumes of the Third Series the numeration of the second was continued—xxxii. to xxxv.; with the next volume the new series began an independent numbering of its own, and that the first half-yearly volume of 1881 is marked vol. v. This was carried on up to the close of the series, the last volume of it being xxvi., which ended 1891.

As announced in the circular quoted, the third series opened under the editorship of the Right Rev. John Cuthbert Hedley, O.S.B., the learned Bishop of Newport and Menevia, who contributed to the first number the admirable article on "Catholicism and Culture," which opens the series. This first issue (January 1879) had also the fortune to secure an article on "The Work and Wants of the Church in England," from the pen of Cardinal Manning, and one on "The Evangelisation of Africa," from that of his destined successor, Bishop (now Cardinal) Vaughan. The series thus began under very bright

auspices, and a number of very distinguished names appear in the table of contents of subsequent numbers. Cardinal Manning is credited with at least five subsequent articles, of which the last (July 1891) was entitled "Leo XIII. on the Condition of Labour," but half a year before the great Cardinal's death. We learn from some editorial correspondence that His Eminence had also planned a paper upon General Gordon early in 1885, but unfortunately "Gives it up—has not time." The article on the subject which did appear in April ("The Destiny of Khartoum") was, though not signed, from the indefatigable pen of Miss E. M. Clarke, whose industry as a DUBLIN reviewer during two series almost rivals that of Dr. Russell; and we gather that Gordon's sister "wrote to the writer to thank her for it, as expressive of her own feelings in the portion where Gordon's desertion is described." Another future Cardinal, Dr. Moran, at that time Bishop of Ossory, contributed an interesting paper on "The Birthplace of St. Patrick" to the issue of April 1880, and one on "The Condition of Catholics in Ireland a Hundred Years Ago," in that of January 1882. The late Bishop Clifford, of Clifton, brought out in those of April and October 1881, his novel theory concerning the "Days of the Week and the Works of Creation," which excited no little interest and controversy at the time. Among other episcopal contributors to the series will be noticed the erudite Bishop Healy, Bishop Ullathorne, and, of course, the episcopal Editor. This third series also secured a large share of foreign contributors, a very rare feature in the earlier series. Among these we meet with Professors de Harlez, Lamy, Alberdingk Thijm, and Colinet of Louvain; the Abbé Motais, Bishop Spalding of Peoria, and Senator Power of Ottawa.

Other novelties announced in the programme were duly introduced, and have since remained marked features of the DUBLIN, differentiating it to some extent from other old quarterlies. The department of book-notices received a very considerable extension. In the earliest issues of the Original Series, no notices of the kind appear, but only an occasional "summary" of foreign literature, though, strange to say, for several years a short appendix of "Miscellaneous Intelligence," political as well as religious, was added to each issue. The notices of books appear to have commenced with the May number of

1840, in Vol. viii., Original Series, but, even to the end of the series, never exceeded very modest proportions. Dr. Ward's series gave a much greater development to these short reviews ; but in the Third and Fourth Series they have assumed still larger importance. Other new and useful departments now added were the "Science Notes" and "Notes on Travel and Exploration," still regularly continued.

Bishop Hedley was ably assisted in his editorial duties by an excellent sub-editor, the Rev. W. E. Driffield, whose name deserves to be recorded with due honour side by side with those of Bagshawe and Cashel Hoey. At the close of 1884 Dr. Hedley resigned the editorial chair, which was then assumed by the Right Rev. Herbert Vaughan, then Bishop of Salford, who thus again, like Dr. Ward, combined the functions of proprietor and editor, which he retained till the close of 1891. The multifarious duties and occupations of the editor's busy episcopal life very naturally threw an ever-increasing share of labour upon the devoted sub-editor, and to a very considerable extent Father Driffield may be said to have been rather the acting editor during the last few years of the Series.

With the beginning of 1892 the editorship was conferred upon its present incumbent, the Very Rev. James Moyes, D.D., now Canon Theologian of Westminster, and with the change commenced also the Fourth and current Series of the DUBLIN REVIEW. There was somewhat of an alteration in outward appearance, and in one respect at least a reversion to the memories of the Original "Wiseman" Series. The new first volume of the series was numbered Vol. cx., the numeration thus going right back to the beginning, and the first issue bore number "220," by a curious miscalculation, which will puzzle some future librarian, for it should have been "219." This first quarterly issue was scarcely in the hands of its readers when the whole country was shocked with the death of the venerable Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, who himself had twenty-seven years before consecrated in the pages of the REVIEW a "Memorial" to his predecessor, Cardinal Wiseman. A graceful and pathetic memorial article from the pen of the lamented Father Lockhart appeared in the subsequent issue, April 1892, and also an article on the same subject by his future biographer, Mr. E. S. Purcell. It is interesting also to

note that the opening article of this Fourth Series was that on "England's Devotion to St. Peter" by the then Bishop of Salford, who at the very moment the second part of his article was issuing from the press in the April number, had succeeded Manning and Wiseman on the metropolitan throne of Westminster, as he had succeeded them in the proprietorship of the "historic DUBLIN." The intimate connection between the three successive Cardinals and Archbishops of Westminster and the great Catholic Quarterly, of which this coincidence is but the outward symbol, is not a little remarkable, and confirms the impression of the very large part played by the REVIEW in the history of Catholic thought and life during the past sixty years.

It would be unsuitable and unnecessary to say more about the Fourth Series, now only in its fifth year of existence, and with the whole twentieth century, as we may hope, before it. If the past be any augury of the future, the omens are certainly propitious. We can heartily wish it God-speed in its career.

This memorial notice has been entrusted to the pen of one who has no official connection with the editorial staff of the REVIEW, and who can, therefore, write with more freedom, and without any danger of appearing to commit the managers to any of the views expressed. Certain writers have sometimes speculated, in idle mood, what work they would choose, if condemned for years to solitary imprisonment, or to banishment on a desert isle, with no other companion than one single set of volumes. Was it not Matthew Arnold who thought he would select Migne's edition of the Fathers? The present writer is not at all sure whether, if he were in the predicament, he would not take for his choice the 118 volumes of the DUBLIN REVIEW from 1836 to 1896.

L. C. CASARTELLI.

ART. II.—CATHOLIC ANTIQUITIES OF THE DARENTH VALLEY, KENT.

I.—OTFORD, THE ARCHBISHOPS' PALACE.

BELOW the picturesque line of chalk hills intersecting the heart of Kent runs the little river Darenth, a tributary of the Medway, through a beautiful and fertile valley.

At the foot of the hills lies the old village of Otford, with its "Castle" (so-called) i.e., the remains of the old palace of the Archbishops, its holy well—that of St. Thomas of Canterbury, its hop gardens, little river, and smiling flat fields. The white chalk hills close behind it are traversed by the "Pilgrims' Way," along which countless footsteps have wended to the martyr's shrine in olden times. It is marked by a dark line of old yews, which conceal the sunken lane, and were planted, it is said, to show the way across the white hills to the pilgrims. It is plainly visible from afar, and still a much frequented highway, though not for travellers to Canterbury.

The first mention of Otford in history is in connection with Offa, the warlike king of Mercia. A terrible battle was fought at Otford in 796, in which Offa conquered the king of Kent, made him captive, and took possession of his kingdom. The ploughman even now often turns up human bones; and quantities of skeletons, with weapons, were found some years ago in a farmer's field. William of Malmesbury says: "Edilbert, commonly called Pren," was the king conquered, and some etymologists derive the name of the village from *Offa's Ford*. The name is also written in old documents as Ottanford, Ottanford, &c. The victorious king made satisfaction to the Church for this bloodshed, by granting the village to Canterbury, as "pasture for the Bishop's hogs," as expressed in an old document; this was the beginning of the connection between Otford and Canterbury, which continued till the Reformation.

Otford was the scene of another terrible battle in 1016, when Edmund Ironside conquered the Danes, and many skeletons with broken swords and pieces of armour of that date were found when the South-Eastern Railway was made

through the valley. The lands of Otford belonged to the Archbishop and the Monastery of Canterbury in common, till the time of Lanfranc, who came to the See in 1070, when the village was allotted to the Archbishop as private property. In the Domesday-book it is stated that the Archbishop held Otford in demesne, and that it was taxed at "eight *sulings*," and that it had a population of 101 "villeins," and eighteen "borderers" (owners of plots of land), and that there were six mills, 50 acres of meadow, and "*pannage* for 150 hogs." Little is altered nowadays in the old village, save the disappearance of the mills. But with the twelfth century Otford comes into prominence as a favourite residence of St. Thomas à Becket.

When he was attached to the household of Archbishop Theobald, the latter gave him the living of Otford, at the same time as that of St. Mary, Strand, although he was then in deacon's orders. Possibly, therefore, he never took up residence here till he became Archbishop. The "Manor House" must have been a considerable place at this time, and was built in the time of Lanfranc, as several writers affirm. Erasmus, in his dedication of the New Testament to the King of France, speaks as if this place had been a ground of quarrel between Becket and the King, but this statement is derived, no doubt, from the words of Alanus, who says: "That after Becket was apprehended at supper-time, the Bishops of London and Chichester came to him, declaring that if he would surrender up to the King his mansions at Otford and Wingham, there was hope that he would recover the King's favour, and that all would be forgiven." This, no doubt, was an artful plea for spoliation, but Becket did not fall in with it.

However this may be, the great Archbishop left lasting traces of his beneficent presence in the village, for before his time it was noted for want of water, a want which is felt to this day in other districts of this part of Kent. The legend runs that St. Thomas, like another Moses, struck the ground with his pastoral staff, and a limpid stream gushed forth, which was called "St. Thomas's Well," celebrated for its healing properties. It is confined in an oblong paved bath, about ten feet long, with steps leading down to the clear, bubbling waters, and lined with strong stone masonry, perfect to this day. The

rafters still left in parts over it, show that it was roofed in. I have often sipped its clear waters, overhung with graceful creepers, and surrounded by fragrant hop-gardens, somewhat behind the village. Modern antiquarians have endeavoured to explain the well as a Roman bath, for Otford was once a Roman settlement, the remains of a camp being still evident on a neighbouring hill, and many Roman tiles being picked up in the fields and Roman *snails* still abounding here. But I cannot observe the slightest trace of Roman tiles or bricks in the masonry of the well, which appears to me of a later date. The Saint is said to have often bathed in the well, and in later times the Archbishops, when worn by old age and sickness, used to retire to peaceful Otford, to benefit by the miraculous waters. Some legends of St. Thomas, still current in the village, are less grateful to his memory. They say that one summer evening the Saint was performing his devotions under a tree, when the nightingales sung so loudly that he was disturbed by them, and banished them with a malediction from Otford. The curious fact that nightingales do not often sing at Otford perhaps gave rise to this story. But then the cause of their fancies for different localities has not yet been discovered. I should rather suppose that poor Philomel refuses to sing there because her kind patron was so cruelly martyred.

They say, too, that no blacksmith ever prospers in the village, since St. Thomas's mare was mis-shod at the village forge, and received an anathema for his pains. It is sad that the great Saint's name should only linger in his own village by these idle and spiteful legends of prejudice or ignorance, while his miracles and holy life are concealed from the people. In 1188, a letter from King Henry II. to Clement III. was dated from Otford, showing that the despotic monarch was staying at the Manor then. After the death of St. Thomas, it is probable that most of the Archbishops resided more or less at Otford.

It is related that Archbishop Winchelsea entertained Edward I. at the Manor House with great state, and that he lived there for the last years of his life, for the benefit of the waters of St. Thomas's Well, only leaving it to visit Canterbury from time to time when his presence was necessary. Simon Islip also spent his last years at Otford, and was riding thence

to Mayfield, when he fell from his horse in a marsh, and arriving at Mayfield lay down on the stone-floor instead of going to bed, and died there of a paralytic stroke. Before leaving Otford he nominated to the See of Rochester his nephew, William Whittlesey, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. The latter also passed his old age at Otford, and in 1372 consecrated there, or perhaps only confirmed, Thomas de Arundel to the See of Ely, and he in his turn became Archhishop of Canterbury. Other Archbishops resided at Otford, but in 1501 Henry Dene was raised to the primacy and he rebuilt the greater part of the Manor. His successor, Archbishop Warham, at first intended to build a palace at Canterbury, but owing to disputes about the ground, he built at Otford instead, spending £33,000 on the mansion, an enormous sum at that time. Only the walls of the hall and chapel were retained of the former building, and the Archbishop resided there entirely, entertaining Erasmus on a visit once, for letters by him are dated from Otford. It obtained its zenith of importance then, for evil times were near at hand, and Henry VIII. soon coveted its repose. Cranmer was the servile Archbishop, when what is called "the foolish exchange" was made, and it was given to Henry, though what he gave in exchange is hard to discover.

Strype quotes the words of Ralf Morice, Cranmer's secretary, as follows :

I was by when Otford and Knole were given him (Knole is at Seven-oaks, three miles from Otford, and is still a splendid historical mansion, belonging to Lord Sackville). My Lord minded to have retained Knole unto himself, and said it was too small a house for his Majesty. "Marry," said the King, "I would rather have it than this house," meaning Otford, "for it standeth on a better soil. This house standeth low, and is rheumatic, like unto Croydon, where I never could be without sickness; and as for Knole it standeth on a perfect, sound ground. If, therefore, I should make my abode here, as I mean to do, now and then, I will live at Knole, and most of my house shall live at Otford." By this means (adds Morice), both these houses were delivered into the King's hands. And as for Otford, it is a notable, great, and ample house, whose reparation yearly cost my lord more than one would think.

It is believed that Cranmer compiled the Anglican liturgy at Otford before he left. The royal spoiler then appointed Sir William Long, Lord High Steward of the Manor of

Otford, and keeper of the woods and parks (there are no woods round Otford at present). As keeper of the messuage he was to have 2*d.* a day, as keeper of the garden and orchard 4*d.*, as keeper of the parks 4*d.* a day, and as "Steward of the Honour of Otford," his salary was £6 15*s.* 4*d.* The round sum of his annual income must, therefore, have cost him some arithmetic.

Otford then had a three weeks' Court, where actions not above 40*s.* were tried. The profits of these went to the High Steward. There were two parks, the greater and the lesser, the former being disparked in the time of Edward III., but the latter, including parts of Otford, Seal and Kemsing (a neighbouring village of great interest to Catholics, which we shall shortly describe), was given by James I. to Sir Thomas Smythe, so that we see how large a tract belonged to the Archbishops, for this park covered 700 acres.

And what became of the Archbishop's palace, the beautiful Manor? Forty years after the death of Warham had hardly passed, and his palace was already a ruin, incredible as it may seem. Lamharde, who wrote his "*Perambulation of Kent*," in 1570, says: "In my time nothing remained of the fabric but the hall and the chapel." Hasted, in a "*History of Kent*," written at the end of the eighteenth century, says: "In my time there were two towers, a well, and a part of an outer court. The towers had been two stories high, but the larger falling in, the owner caused the upper story of both to be taken down."

All that remains now is a picturesque square tower covered with ivy, at the north-west angle of a quadrangle, now turned into a farmyard; and a corridor, now converted into cottages thatched with straw; and the whole is turned into a farm. Though occupied by gardens, the sight of the original fabric is still visible, and a raised lawn terrace is traceable, and the remains of a building which may have been an entrance. The walls of the tower are begrimed with smoke, for only lately it was used as a smithy (no wonder, then, the blacksmiths here are not prosperous), and no building could have been treated with more neglect and wanton destruction for the last three centuries than the palace of the Archbishops.

Thus nobly was "the honour of Otford" maintained.

Chiselled stones, almost as perfect as when they came from the masons' hands, lie buried in the débris of the court, the carved oak beams form part of other buildings, a carved-oak pannelled door was seen lately used as a cucumber frame, whence it was rescued by the Vicar, Dr. Hunt, to whose researches I am indebted for much of the history of the place. A cottager gave him the fire-dogs belonging to Archbishop Warham, and ornamented with the Archiepiscopal arms. At the "Bull Inn" are to be seen Gothic chimney pieces, wainscoting, and a carved-oak chest from the palace. On the chimney-piece are carved some curious figures, supposed to represent Henry and Katherine of Aragon. It is said that George I. once came to Sevenoaks for a review, and the barbarous villagers, thinking that the king at Knole could not see the tower plainly from that distance, stripped the ivy off and whitewashed it.

The old Church of Otford raises its square tower close to "the Castle," and is dedicated to St. Bartholomew. The tower is supposed to be of the time of Edward I., but the lower part is older.

The holy water stoup is visible in the porch, and many empty niches for statues in the church.

There is a curious altar tomb in the chancel defaced, but looking as if it might be the resting-place of a bishop. Two stones with crosses on them were dug out of the churchyard and placed behind the font by the Vicar. Catholics will recognise by this the true altar-stones. There was a miraculous statue of St. Bartholomew in the Church, and many miracles were said to have been worked there, until Henry VIII. came to Otford to confer about dividing the lesser park. One Robert Multon set before him (says Lambarde) "this notorious scandal," and the King at once ordered it to be removed. The Church was partly burned in the time of James I. and rebuilt in the time of Charles I., the porch bearing the date 1637. On its restoration in 1862 by Street, he caused all the tombstones in the church to be placed together in a corner, where they are now covered by the organ.

The west wall is adorned by the escutcheons of the Polhill family, mentioned in Domesday-book, and whose last descendants still live a few miles off.

Edward VI. gave the parsonage and advowson to Sir Anthony Denny, who handed it over for an exchange to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, in whose possession it still remains. But for the greater part of the last century there was no resident clergyman at all. A curate used occasionally to come over, and tradition says that the clerk used to ascend the tower on Sunday, and if he saw a horse and rider posting to Otford he rang the bell, and the people knew then that there would be a service.

Thus low has fallen the village where sanctity, learning and civilisation once reigned in the palace of the Archbishops, and where England's celebrated martyr walked and prayed in the quiet retreat which he loved so well.

II.—ST. EDYTHE'S WELL, KEMSING.

Not far from Otford, in the same valley, but nearer to the hills, lies the smaller village of Kemsing. Its old name was Camsing (Camp-sing), from the Roman camp before mentioned.

The quaint little church, standing at the higher end of the village, is dedicated to St. Edythe, who was born here, according to tradition, an old cottage being still pointed out as her birthplace; or more probably occupying its site. It is a straggling village with one street, beside which is the pond, and beyond this a small circular green, in the centre of which is the Holy Well; the road turns round it upwards on its way to the hills. The well is circular, and enclosed by a low stone wall, with an opening on one side, also walled, where the steps lead down to the water's level. It bears the signs of great age, and here the villagers may still be seen coming to draw water for their homes, and they still believe that it possesses unusual virtues.

According to the practice still current those who desire to obtain some wish, have only to go to the well, call on St. Edythe to help them, throwing some of the water over the left shoulder, and keep silence until spoken to, and they are sure to obtain their desire.

Can we not trace in this idea a tradition of their Catholic ancestors going to the well, crossing themselves with its holy water, and saying a *pater* perhaps in silence for St. Edythe's

intercession? An Anglican lady living near related to me the story of a boy's wish granted by this practice, and said that she knew the favours asked were often granted, "whatever may be the reason." The boy was fifteen, and ardently desired a microscope, which he had no means of obtaining, so thought he would try the powers of the well. He performed the traditional ceremony, and before a fortnight was passed he received a microscope from a very unexpected quarter, and a much finer one than he had asked for. He was deeply impressed by the occurrence at the time.

A statue of St. Edythe was set up in the little churchyard in Catholic times, and was an object of great veneration in the village, her intercession being especially for preserving the harvest from "blasting, mildew, and other harm" (*v. Lambarde's "Perambulations of Kent"*). The church dates from the twelfth century, and though it has been restored, its fine old roof, ancient rood screen and monuments proclaim its age.

There was a small chapel on the north side of the church specially dedicated to the Saint, probably containing the statue; where, too, a relic, said to be a portion of her arm, was kept. This was presented by the Convent of Wilton, where St. Edythe spent most of her life, and died as Abbess. This portion of the church was destroyed at the Reformation, and the fate of the relic is unknown. The land on which the cottage of St. Edythe stands was presented to Wilton by King Edgar, father of the Saint, some time after her birth, being the fulfilment of a canonical penance imposed on him by St. Dunstan for a great crime, another condition being that he was not to wear his crown at Easter for seven years.

Her mother had been brought up in the convent of Wilton—some say she was a nun—and was called Wulfrith, and she and the little Edythe too found a quiet home there. Few facts are known about her short life, for she died when she was twenty-three only. She lived in stormy times, but managed to escape the hatred and violence of Elgiva, the cruel second wife of King Edgar, who murdered her step-son, Edward the Martyr, by means of a poisoned cup of mead, taken at her castle while hunting.

The throne being then vacant, a weak attempt was made to raise an opposition in favour of Edythe, the late King's half-

sister. But she quietly declined the proposal, not wishing to leave a retreat where she already felt a religious vocation. Thus Ethelred, son of Elgiva, for whom she had committed the crime, became king in 978.

At Wilton then "this blooming rose," as St. Dunstan called her, "was trained from infancy in the school of the Lord, and gained His favour by her purity and constant watchings, repressing the pride of her high birth by her humility" (William of Malmesbury). Radbo, of Rheims, and Benna, of Treves, are mentioned as being her preceptors, and the following anecdote of her is also told by William of Malmesbury. Many people were led to false conclusions about her holiness by reason of the splendour of her dress,

she being always habited in a richer garb than the sanctity of her profession seemed to require. On this account she was openly rebuked by St. Ethelwold, to whom she answered: that the judgment of God was true and irrefragable, while that of man alone was fallible: for pride might exist under the garb of wretchedness. "Wherefore I think," said she, "that a mind may be as pure beneath these vestments as under your tattered furs."

The Bishop was deeply struck by this answer, and "remained silent, blushing for pleasure."

St. Edythe had a great devotion to St. Denys, and built a church in his honour. At its consecration by St. Dunstan, he observed her frequently making the sign of the cross on her forehead. "May that finger," he exclaimed, "never see corruption."

Long after her death, when her coffin was opened, in order that her body might be enshrined at Wilton, that finger was alone found intact. (We wonder whether this celebrated finger was part of the relic treasured at Kemsing?)

After this incident, while celebrating Mass, St. Dunstan burst into a flood of tears, which much alarmed the server. In answer to his inquiries afterwards into the cause of his grief, St. Dunstan is reported to have said:

"Soon shall this blooming rose wither! soon shall this beloved bird take its flight to God, at the expiration of six weeks from this time!" And so it came to pass, for six weeks after this occasion the young Abbess died peacefully at the age of twenty-three. Soon after St. Dunstan saw in a dream St.

Denys, the saint's heavenly friend, take the virgin by the hand and enjoin upon him, "that she should be honoured by her servants on earth in the same way that she was honoured by her Spouse and Master in heaven."

Miracles multiplied at her tomb (mentioned in Leland), and some years after her death it was ordered that her body should be translated to the shrine I have mentioned, not far from the marble mausoleum in which Wulfrith, her mother, was buried. Here the Chronicler reluctantly leaves this sweet Anglo-Saxon Saint with the remark: "All virtues have long since quitted the earth, and retired to heaven : or if anywhere (but this I must say with the permission of holy men) are to be found only in the hearts of nuns."*

But after these thousand years it is interesting to hear St. Edythe's name still pronounced by rustic tongues around her unforgotten well, where her powerful intercession still extends its influence.

A. M. WILSON.

Note.—Kemsing Church was afterwards granted to the priory of Bermondsey by a licence from Richard II., rents being reserved for a perpetual vicar on certain conditions : one being that 40*d.* was to be paid yearly to each of the poorest parishioners, or meat and drink to the same value. The villagers would regret these good times, did they know it, for Henry VIII., in the twenty-ninth year of his reign, took possession of the church rents for himself : nor do we hear of any minister of religion in this poor village during the last century. For about thirty-five years it has had the ministrations of an Anglican Vicar, new schools and vicarage have been built, and the church restored.

* William of Malmesbury.

ART. III.—BIBLICAL SCIENCE AND THE BIBLE.

A REMARKABLE series of articles on the subject of the Church and the Bible has been appearing in the DUBLIN REVIEW within the last fifteen months.* The articles are characterised by thoroughness, candour, and moderation ; they are scholarly, and evince a wide knowledge of Biblical literature. “Some *bookes* are to be read only in parts ; others to be read, but not curiously ; and some few to be read wholly, and with Diligence and Attention.”† These essays are such that they ought either to be passed over altogether, or else be read “with Diligence and Attention.” In method, in closeness of argument, in selection of authorities, they approximate to the German school ;‡ but at the same time due prominence is given to French and English scholarship ; indeed, it is clear that the writer attaches great weight to the conclusions of the Abbé Loisy and, among English writers, of Father Clarke. It is a difficult task to deal with three such essays in a single review article ; for they are suggestive and range over a great variety of topics. Of necessity, therefore, many questions of importance must be passed over in silence ; others can only be cursorily glanced at ; and, indeed, no subject can receive the full treatment it deserves.

Baron von Hügel concludes his first article with some eloquent words as to the spirit

in which to be fruitful, indeed to *count*, even for a day, the *labor improbus* of the study of the Bible, *quid* human document, should . . . be conducted by the few who have the gifts and calling to give themselves to this form of service.§

Let the modern man be sure of one thing [he says, p. 30], let him feel it at any and every contact with your mind ; that you would feel as a wound any stain on your intellectual honour, any violence done to any fact, however small and spurned ; that you are striving day by day after

* Oct. 1894 ; April, 1895 ; Oct. 1895.

† Bacon's Essays. “Of Studies.”

‡ Not used in any bad sense.

§ Art. i. p. 29. We quote the articles in pamphlet form.

intellectual chastity, that your very faith springs from love, a love of truth.

Who would not answer "amen" to these eloquent words? Nay! who would refuse to remove the restricting clause, and to apply them, not merely to the Bible, "*qua* human document," but to the whole field of Biblical research? For what would it be else than sheer desecration to enter upon the defence of the Sacred Volume, the work of Truth itself, in the spirit of falsehood and deceit?

But, alas for human nature! No matter how well-intentioned a man may be, no matter how deep his veneration for intellectual honour, his judgment of facts is liable to be warped in many ways, by prejudice, early training, natural bent, public opinion, and the like; and this more especially in momentous far-reaching questions, such as politics and religion, which touch very nearly his present and future prospects. Professor Kuennen, thorough-going critic though he was, was not free from such human infirmities.

The priority of *Deuteronomy*, as compared with the priestly laws [he says in one place*] had been defended by George and Vatke. And when I now re-read the arguments which I then regarded as an adequate refutation of their views, I can but acknowledge the power of tradition, or, if you will, of public opinion, even in the domain of criticism! The concessions I then made were inevitable, but wholly inadequate. From my present position I regard them, on the one hand, as a tribute extorted by the power of truth; but, on the other hand, as a humiliating proof of the tyranny which the opinions we have once accepted hold over us.

Doubtless such weaknesses as these exist among Catholics as well as critics, and account, far more frequently than any want of love of truth, for any seeming want of candour in their writings. It would not be fair, however, to imagine that they are to be found on one side only in the Catholic schools. The advocate of traditional views will naturally lean towards depreciating the results of criticism; making little of modern objections, exaggerating the importance of external and minimising the use of internal proofs. The student of more "advanced" views will no doubt give a fairer hearing to

* "The Hexateuch," introd., p. xiii.

critical difficulties. But he will have a tendency to pooh-pooh the objections of theologians; to treat lightly the generally-held teaching of the Catholic schools; to seize hold of a word or two in some ecclesiastical document of weight susceptible of a meaning in his own sense, and throw it in the face of his opponent, leaving in the dark whole paragraphs which seem plainly to teach the contrary doctrine.

All this is natural, consistent with perfect moral truth and unimpeachable rectitude. Nor is it easy for a man to shake off the habit of mind which has become almost a part of himself. But what is to be desired is that both parties should look facts in the face; that they should enter into and try to master thoroughly the views of the other side, with a view to ascertaining the real significance of their opponents' position; and finally, if they cannot agree with their conclusions, that they should endeavour to refute, not mere objections of their own creation, but the real difficulties which are brought against them.

Baron von Hügel lays down very clearly in his first article * the double relation in which Sacred Scripture stands to the Church of God :

The Church rests in part upon the Bible, as containing certain documents of at least human authority with regard to certain limited specific questions of fact; the Bible, as a library of Divine, inspired, inerrant books, rests, in strict logic, entirely upon the Church.†

In dealing with the Bible as one of the props of the Church, the Baron says, "We can, indeed must, at this stage use ordinary critical and historical standards and methods."‡

We have, then [he writes further on], to guard here both against following the mere fads and fashions of the day or anti-Theistic assumptions of any kind, and against in any way treating questions which, at this stage, are purely historical in a temper different from that in which other historical problems are investigated and established.

All this will appear sound and obvious to the reader. It is admitted, indeed laid down, by theologians of all schools. For it stands to reason that if a man who is not yet a Christian be asked to find the proof of the Church's mission in the

* Pp. 15-20.

† P. 15.

‡ P. 18.

Bible (which as yet he has no grounds for taking to be more than a mere human book), he must be allowed to inquire into its authenticity and credibility, just as he would do in the case of any other book. And Catholic writers, in dealing with Sacred Scripture for such men, must obviously use only "ordinary critical and historical standards and methods."

So far the ground is clear. The difficulty now begins. In olden times theologians fearlessly taught the complete immunity from error of the books of Sacred Scripture. They held the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch: no difficulty was felt as to Isaiah, Jeremiah, or Daniel. In the New Testament the Gospel problem resolved itself into harmonising the narratives of the four Gospels; and little trouble was experienced with regard either to the Acts of the Apostles or the Epistles. On the other hand, there were no "higher critics" to bring objections against the credibility or authenticity of the various books; and if, now and then, a more "advanced" critic appeared, he was soon reduced to silence by the public opinion of his time, if in no other way. So that the function of the writer, treating the sacred books "*quæ* human documents," resolved itself simply into establishing the authenticity and confirming the veracity of the books of Scripture by arguments handed down from writer to writer, and the cogency of which no one was found to question. In such a state of things no inconvenience was likely to arise from the double relation in which the Bible stands to the Church.

But a difficulty and a danger at once arise, if, or when, the conclusions of theology and the conclusions of science relative to the sacred books do not seem to agree. For truth cannot be opposed to truth. No one can consistently hold contradictory propositions. Thus, who would not reprobate the attitude of mind attributed—quite unjustly, it would seem—by Sir James Stephen to Cardinal Newman, when speaking of certain persons who have a double standard of truth?

This state of mind is perhaps best illustrated by a saying ascribed, justly or otherwise, to Cardinal Newman in one of his sermons at Oxford: "In science the earth goes round the sun, in theology the sun goes round the earth."*

* Cf. *Nineteenth Century*, 1887, p. 884. The article is by the Bishop of Car-

And who would not regard it as intolerable to be compelled to say: "As a theologian I hold the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch; but as a scientific and critical interpreter I am convinced that the five books of the law came into existence long after Moses' time; that they are in fact the growth of centuries?"

Now the question arises, is there any danger, in these days, of antagonism between the propositions of theology and the results of science relative to the sacred books? Undoubtedly, outside the Church, where the teaching of theology is of a very unstable character and the authority of dogma is almost entirely discredited, such a danger is greatly apprehended. The following extracts from Alexandre Westphal, a promising French scholar, may perhaps be taken as embodying a very widespread impression on the subject: *

Peu à peu l'abîme s'est creusé entre le catéchisme du temple et la théologie de l'école. Le jour vient où deux Bibles seront en présence, la Bible du fidèle et la Bible du savant. Ce jour-là le choc se produira violent; car le réveil des troupeaux sera un réveil d'indignation, et nul ne peut prévoir ce que deviendrait la foi dans cette révolte des consciences.

And again:

Le moment est venu de profiter des leçons du passé. Témoignons généreusement notre reconnaissance à ceux qui, sans avoir les priviléges de la foi, ont consacré leur vie et leur savoir à l'étude des documents de la foi. Emparons-nous de leurs découvertes; transformons notre théologie de façon à faire cesser l'incompatibilité introduite par les hommes entre la Bible telle que l'a faite la science et la Bible telle que la veut la foi.

But it may further be said, that it would be hard to reconcile the more extreme views once held so generally within the Church by theologians, and still defended by a few, as to authorship and extent of inspiration in Sacred Scripture, with what are now coming to be recognised as the

lisle, and he takes advantage of Justice Stephen's illustration to make some very uncalled-for remarks about the Cardinal. What the Cardinal really said was: "Scripture says the sun moves and the earth is stationary; and science that the earth moves and the sun is comparatively at rest. How can we determine which of these opposite statements is the very truth till we know what motion is?" (*cf. loc. cit.*).

* "Les Sources du Pentateuch," vol. i. pp. i. xi.

fairly well ascertained results of modern scholarship. Nor is it easy to see the wisdom of publishing in these days such a book as that of Father Brucker,* wherein the author expresses his strong disapproval of views on the deluge,[†] left open by such a competent and conservative scholar as Father Hummelauer, S.J.;[‡] and wherein also, it would seem, an attempt is made to counteract the good impression produced[§] by the liberal views expressed by the Holy Father, in the recent encyclical on Holy Scripture, relative to the scientific references occurring in the sacred text.

Indeed, it is hard enough for the Catholic student sometimes—no matter what his views may be—to bring together the teaching of theology and that of the more weighty of the Biblical critics. The late Professor Huxley says in one place ||: "There is no living Biblical scholar who can ignore authorities of the rank of Reuss and Wellhausen, of Robertson Smith and Kuennen without gross presumption; I might even say, without raising a serious doubt of his scientific integrity." These words are offensively put; and if the Professor wishes to imply by "not ignoring" that Biblical scholars are to be "led" by such men as these, no Catholic student is likely to escape his rebuke. But if he means simply what he says, then it will readily be admitted that these men, and others of the same class, have thrown light upon many important points of Holy Writ. Moreover, it will be admitted that there has been a growing moderation and religiousness of tone observable in the writings of critics within recent years, and a tendency to discredit extreme views, which bodes well for the future; which, in fact, leaves room to hope that, before very long, the Catholic theologian will find in the refined conclusions of criticism very little that is inconsistent with the teaching of the Church.

Now here it is important to note that a distinction may legitimately be drawn between the doctrine of the Church and the teachings of theologians on many questions connected with Sacred Scripture. For even of the Fathers the Pope says: "It

* "Questions actuelles d'Écriture Sainte."

† Chapter, "L'Universalité du Déluge," pp. 255-314.

‡ "Genesis," pp. 223-256.

§ "Questions actuelles," pp. 99, *et seq.*

|| "Hebrew Tradition," p. 12.

may be that, in commenting on passages where physical matters occur, they have sometimes expressed the ideas of their own times, and thus made statements which in these days have been abandoned as incorrect."* If such was the case with the Fathers of the Church, it is not surprising to find that theologians and others have not unfrequently lapsed into error when dealing with similar questions. Thus, in Galileo's time Catholics were shocked to find a man maintaining that the earth is not the centre of the world; and, more recently, theologians looked with suspicion upon those who held the non-universality of the deluge. So, too, it is only of late that any Catholic has ventured to question the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, in its present form. In all these things science and history have led the way, in face of a certain kind of consensus of Catholic opinion. And as science and history in the past, whilst never subverting the Church's doctrine, have led the way in many things to a better understanding of the sacred Text, so, doubtless, they are now doing a good work in the same direction, and are helping on that gradual approximation of views between criticism and theology which is still more largely due to the abatement of the exorbitant demands at one time made by the advocates of science and criticism.

Having laid down the two-fold relation in which the Bible stands to the Church of God, Baron Von Hügel proceeds to discuss the present position of Bible study as it affects the Bible "*quæ* human document." Most of the first and second articles are taken up with that subject. Then, in the third article, he treats of the Bible "*quæ* Divine Library, re-given to us as such" by the Church. Here it will be convenient, following the same order, to consider briefly (1) the general position of Biblical study in relation to criticism; then more particularly the study of the (2) Pentateuch, the (3) Prophets and the (4) Gospels; and finally (5) to notice certain questions intimately connected with the Bible, "*quæ* Divine Library, re-given to us as such" by the Church.

* "Encyc." p. 24.

I.

It would be worse than idle to shut our eyes to the fact [the Baron writes *] that the critical work of the last hundred years or more, whilst often rationalist and reckless, has not been, fortunately, altogether in vain, but has gradually settled down into soberer methods. Indeed, the storm and stress have left, as sediment, a certain number of conclusions which can only be escaped by denying altogether that restricted and preliminary right of reason in these matters, which the Church has ever upheld against the various forms of Fideism, or, again, by denying the special character of all historical evidence, which of its very nature is but cumulative and probable.

1. Critical methods have certainly sobered down very materially, if account be taken of the researches of such men as Reimarus, Nicolai, and Bahrdt, in the last century ; but can the same thing be said in relation to the history of the critical movement, properly so called ; beginning perhaps with Richard Simon, the Oratorian, or, at any rate, with the French physician, John Astruc ? May it not rather be said that the spirit and method have been always the same—viz., to bring to the consideration of the Sacred Scriptures and Bible history such principles as are applied to the ancient classics and history ?—

The spirit and method [writes a learned author†] which used to be called “German,” but which are simply the spirit and method of criticism as such, and the very spirit and method long familiar to English scholars when applied to the history of Greece or Rome.

2. It is true there is now far less room left for the imagination and inventive faculty of the critic than was the case sixty or one hundred years ago. But this is due, not to any change of method, but to the growth of knowledge. Biblical criticism is a science which has now been threshed out for a century or more, and during that period a vast quantity of chaff has been separated from the grain and rejected as useless. But doubtless the process will have to continue for many a year before perfect reliance can be placed upon the results of the critics. Indeed, if account be taken only of “sane” scholarship, it may be doubted whether at any time critics were less sober than at the present day.

* Article ii. p. 9.

† “The Documents of the Hexateuch,” pp. xlvi.

It is true [writes the author quoted above*] among the multitude of writers who have taken the matter in hand, a certain allowance must be made here, as in every other subject-matter, for mere extravagance which has perished in the birth, or which has had its day and been forgotten ;

but it must be borne in mind that there are wild theories and reckless critics to the fore, even in these days.

3. There has been, however, undoubtedly a more reverential tone pervading the writings of critics—chiefly English-speaking—within the last few years, which is certainly promising for the future. Nothing on this head is to be desired in the writings of such men as Driver, Kirkpatrick, and the late Robertson Smith. But to what is this increased reverence in tone due? Is it to any change on the part of criticism? It would seem not; but to a movement on the side of conservative scholarship and of Christian scholars, not only in England and America, but throughout the continent of Europe. In fact, the overwhelming majority of Christian scholars outside the Church have taken up the teaching of criticism, and have taken with them into the critical camp that reverential spirit towards the Bible which must naturally actuate every Christian. Mrs. Humphry Ward gives a very forcible account of the state of the case, as far as England is concerned, in the *Nineteenth Century* for March, 1889. She shows how, thirty years ago, *Essays and Reviews* was prosecuted in two ecclesiastical courts, and how Colenso was condemned by all the bishops and four-fifths of Convocation. Yet at the Church Congress held in Manchester (1888) “the distinctive note of its most distinctive debate, as it seems to me, was the glorification of ‘criticism,’ especially, no doubt, in relation to the Old Testament.”†

And what is her explanation of the change:

We are passing out of the scientific phase of Old Testament criticism [she writes ‡] that has, so to speak, done its work. It is the *literary and historical* phase which is now uppermost. And in the matter of the literary history of the Old Testament, the present collapse of English orthodoxy is due to one cause, as far as I can see, and one cause only—the invasion of English by German thought. Instead of marching side by side with Germany and Holland during the last thirty years, as we might have done had our theological faculties been other than what they are, we have been attacked and conquered by them; we have been skir-

* *Loc. cit.* p. xxiii.

† P. 463.

‡ P. 465.

mishing or protesting, feeding ourselves with the *Record* or the *Church Times*, reading the "Speaker's Commentary," or the productions of the Christian Evidence Society, till the process of penetration from without has slowly completed itself, and we find ourselves suddenly face to face with such a fact as this Church Congress debate, and the rise and marked success of a younger school of critics—Cheyne, Driver, Robertson Smith—who are the Germans may fairly regard as the captives of their sword and spear.

II.

1. It seems hard to doubt that the main outlines of critical opinion respecting the Hexateuch now present themselves to the mind supported by a weight of evidence not easy to reject consistently with the natural rights of reason. As Baron von Hügel says :

The storm and stress have left, as sediment, a certain number of conclusions which can only be escaped by denying altogether that restricted and preliminary right of reason in these matters which the Church has ever upheld against the various forms of Fideism, or again, by denying the special character of all historical evidence.*

And again, Dr. Driver : †

It is impossible to doubt that the main conclusions of critics with reference to the authorship of the books of the Old Testament rest upon reasonings the cogency of which cannot be denied without denying the ordinary principles by which history is judged and evidence estimated.

2. These conclusions rest not merely upon the internal analysis of the Hexateuchal books themselves, but also upon a careful study of the history of Israel. By internal examination of the Hexateuch itself, distinct strata are seen to pervade it,‡ strata which differ not merely in style but in modes of thought, in greater or less elaborateness and complexity of ideas, and in the more or less highly organised state of society presupposed by the legislation. A study of the history of Israel seems to point to an apparent disregard of the legislation contained in what are, on independent grounds, conceived to be the later strata of the Hexateuch, hardly consistent with the existence of that legislation, in its present form, in early

* Article ii. p. 9.

† "Literature of the Old Testament," p. 14,

‡ For Genesis, cf. Hummelauer, pp. 14-39.

days. Thus, whilst it may be said that Chronicles, and indeed Ezra and Nehemiah, "presuppose the Hexateuch in its present form," apparently Judges, Samuel, and Kings evince no acquaintance with P., that is, with the latest stratum of the Hexateuch.* So, too, of the Prophets: whilst Daniel and Malachi show an actual knowledge of the Hexateuch in its present form, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and a majority of the minor prophets were apparently written in the light of the oldest (*i.e.*, the prophetical) stratum of the Hexateuch, and of Deuteronomy; whereas Micah, Isaiah, Amos, and Hosea do not even seem to be based on the Deuteronomic stratum.†

3. Even those who have not had the leisure to study the question for themselves cannot fail to be struck with the important consensus of opinion in favour of the more general conclusions of criticism relative to the Hexateuch, and with the new light which these conclusions throw upon the history of God's dealing with Israel: teaching us, as they do, that in the books of the Law, the writings of the Prophets and the historical books is manifested the gradual growth and development of religion and revelation among the Israelites—a development which only finds its completion in the teaching of Jesus Christ, in the New Testament Scriptures, and in the foundation of the Church. Nor is the consensus of opinion less remarkable. It must, indeed, be admitted that—putting aside deistic and rationalistic critics, who are not likely to have much influence on the Catholic student—an ever-increasing number of Christian scholars (almost every cultured scholar outside the Church, and not a few within) subscribe and support the more moderate results of critics on the point—many after having long held out against them. Thus, Professor Kirkpatrick, a thoroughly competent and reverent writer, says of the composite character of the Hexateuch: "Modern criticism claims, and claims with justice, to have proved that it is so;"‡ and Professor Sayce, in a book written in defence of the Old Testament, says§:

In the literary analysis of the Old Testament, certain general results

* Kuenen, "Hexateuch," pp. 186–190.

† *Ibid. loc. cit.* pp. 174–186.

‡ "Divine Library of the Old Testament," p. 41.

"The Higher Criticism and the Monuments," p. 10.

have been arrived at, about which critics of the most various schools are agreed, and if in details there is still room for doubt and disputation, this is only what might be expected.

4. Now even in this matter of the date and development of the law * [writes Baron von Hügel], and of its literary registration, the Pentateuch, the position is greatly improved for the apologist compared with a century ago.

In one respect, certainly, the position is far more satisfactory. The apologist may now feel assured that bottom has been reached, and that wild theories are at an end, at least so far as any prospect of their adoption is concerned. Doubtless, too, a more consistent explanation of the growth of the law is now possible than was the case at any earlier period in the history of the critical movement. But can it be maintained that the dates now assigned to the different parts of the Hexateuch are favourable to the apologist, "as compared with a century ago?" At that date, Eichhorn may perhaps be taken as the exponent of "sane" criticism. Now he held that the Elohistic and Jehovahistic documents, of which he thought the early history to be made up, "were combined as they now stand at the end of the Mosaic age, or soon afterwards," and that "the four later books of Moses grew out of separate writings of Moses and some of his contemporaries."† Dr. Geddes, writing about the same time, says :‡

From intrinsic evidence three things seem to me indubitable: 1. The Pentateuch in its present form was not written by Moses; 2. It was written in the land of Canaan, and probably at Jerusalem; 3. It could not be written before the time of David, nor after that of Hezekiah.

Writing early in this century, De Wette considered Deuteronomy, then held to be the latest book of the Pentateuch, to be earlier than 621 B.C. (*Beiträge*); and the author of the "Priestly Code" he assigns to the year 970 B.C. In the very first page of his introduction to the "Hexateuch," Kuennen shows that twenty-five years earlier unanimity seemed to have been reached upon several points, one of which was the following: "The Deuteronomist, a contemporary of Manasseh

* Article ii. p. 11.

† Cheyne, "Founders of Old Testament Criticism," p. 24. Cf. Westphal, *loc. cit.*, pp. 121-124.

‡ "Translation of the Bible," preface.

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or Josiah, was the redactor of the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua, and it was he who brought them into the form in which they now lie before us." * From these references it will appear that up to five-and-twenty or thirty years ago the final redaction of the Hexateuch had not been brought down lower than the last quarter of the seventh century B.C. Now the theory is that the earlier prophetical narratives belong, roughly speaking, to the eighth century B.C.; Deuteronomy to the age of Manasseh or Josiah; the Priestly Code to the years following the captivity; and that "before the end of the fifth century, the Sopherim had produced the Hexateuch," † practically in its present form.

5. It is quite possible, however, that Baron von Hügel does not refer to any *general* improvement in respect to the age of the Law, but only to improvement in the specific points which he mentions below, viz. (1) as to the historical existence and importance of Moses; and (2) as to the fact that "Moses could write, did write, and we still possess some of his writings." ‡

(1) To show the first point, the Baron quotes some extravagant remarks of Voltaire as to the existence of Moses, and then the scientific deductions of Wellhausen, Montefiore and Professor Driver. The contrast is striking. In the previous paragraph he had, in giving a list of authorities, deliberately passed by "on the left, the brilliant but second-hand and quite arbitrary Renan, and the equally brilliant, untenable destructions of Maurice Verne and Ernest Havet." An admirable decision. But would it not have been well to include Voltaire in the list? Either to have quoted him, and against him such men as Renan, Havet, and the rest; or else to have pitted against modern scholars the conclusions of Eichhorn, Ilgen and such men, who clearly did not disbelieve in the existence of Moses.

(2) On the second point; though from the teaching of critics at the end of the last century and the beginning of this it would seem that they held that Moses could write, did write, and that we possess some of his writing; still, un-

* Kuenen, "Hexateuch," p. 1.

† *Ibid.* p. 314.

‡ Article ii. pp. 11, 12.

doubtedly immense light has been thrown, by recent archaeological discovery, on the early date of writing in the East; and not merely in Egypt and Babylonia, but in Syria and in Palestine too. No one can any longer question the possibility of Moses being able to write. In fact, as Professor Sayce says :*

We now know that the Mosaic age in the East was a highly literary one, as literary, in fact, as the age of the Renaissance in Europe, and that it would have been a miracle if the Israelites, whether in Egypt or in Canaan, had not shared in the general literary culture of the time.

It is, moreover, generally admitted by the most hostile critics, that, at the very least, Moses played a most important part, as laying the foundation of the law of Israel; though Dr. Driver does not seem to attach much importance to the presence of any actual writing of his in the Pentateuch.

That written records *may* underlie the narratives of the Pentateuch cannot possibly be denied† [he writes]; indeed, in some cases, such records are expressly referred to (*Numbers xxii. 24*) ; and, in other cases (e.g., in the list of the kings of Edom, *Genesis, xxxvi.*, and in the laws, *Exodus xxi.-xxiii.*) their existence is highly probable. As a general rule, however, their existence and character must remain a matter of pure speculation; and upon a mere abstract possibility no historical conclusions of any value can be based.

III.

Though, no doubt, the opinions of sceptical critics, relative to the prophets and prophecy, are quite irreconcilable with Catholic doctrine; still it may be said that between the conclusions of criticism, properly so called, and of Catholic scholars there is not such a wide divergence on this subject as on most subjects connected with the Sacred Books. More than that, the position seems to improve as time goes on, and the "points of difference" "to be getting more clearly defined and limited."‡

1. There is, however, one great difference between the majority of Catholic scholars and the critical school, in refer-

* "Church Congress Scripture Debate," *Times*, October 10, 1895.

† *Contemporary Review*, March, 1894, p. 412.

‡ B. von Hügel, article ii. p. 18.

ence to the prophets, arising from the attitude they respectively take up on the question of the Hexateuch. Wellhausen is well entitled to speak for the critical school on the subject :

It is not unnatural * [he says], from the chronological order in which these writings were received into the Canon, to proceed to an inference as to their approximate relative age, and so not only to place the prophets before the Hagiographa, but also the five books of Moses before the Prophets. If the Prophets are for the most part older than the exile, how much more so the Law! But however trustworthy such a mode of comparison may be when applied to the middle as contrasted with the latest portion of the Canon, it is not at all to be relied on when the first part is contrasted with the other two.

Kuenen, too, another first-rate authority, writes : †

A Mosaic law-book, rendered venerable by its origin and its high antiquity, and itself laying claim to a quite exceptional authority, must have been constantly cited and upheld against the people by any teachers who recognised it. But there is not a trace to be found in our Prophets of the ‘it is written’ style :

the conclusion being, of course, that the Prophets knew of no such law.‡ The standpoint of ordinary Catholic scholarship is quite different. “The teaching of the prophetic books” writes Father Maas,§ “is, therefore, as has been said, midway between the Law and the Gospel;” and Father Cornely :|| “The Prophets were appointed by God, for the children of Israel, supreme and authentic masters, to preserve, explain and perfect the covenant given by God to Moses.” The importance of the difference between the two schools is obvious. Was the Pentateuch, as we now have it, in existence when Elias, and Amos, and Isaiah and Jeremiah lived and held the prophetic office? Or is the Hexateuch the outcome of a growth, beginning in the eighth century B.C., and developing *pari passu* with the prophetic teaching? Upon the answer to that question must necessarily depend the opinion which one forms upon many and important passages in the history of Israel.

2. As to the way in which the writings of the Prophets

* “History of Israel,” p. 2.

† “Hexateuch,” p. 176.

§ “Christ in Type and Prophecy,” p. 142.

|| “Introductionis Compendium,” p. 364.

‡ Cf. loc. cit., p. 192.

came into existence, there is certainly very considerable agreement between Catholic and critical authors.

The most conservative Catholic writers admit that the prophetic books contain but an epitome of the teaching of the Prophets ; that, in the case of most of the prophets, they were not written till towards the end of their lives ; and that

in setting forth and arranging their previous discourses they used a certain amount of liberty, and, in accordance with a fixed plan, inserted and added certain additional matter, which had not been included in their *viva voce* pronouncements.*

So, too, Maas : †

Jeremiah, e.g., testifies that he received the command to write all that the Lord had spoken to him from the days of King Josiah even to this day (xxxvi. 2) ; still, it is quite clear, that he cannot have literally committed to writing all his public instructions delivered during the space of twenty-three years.

The same may be said in the case of Isaiah and the minor prophets.

Baron von Hügel points ‡ to Cardinal Newman, the Abbé Loisy and Father van den Biesen, as admitting a Deutero-Isaiah ; and to the Abbé Loisy as favouring a late date for Daniel. Nor is there any doubt that among Catholics the general feeling now is, that it is not of much consequence who wrote these prophecies, provided the authorship attributed to them be not inconsistent with their inspiration. Indeed, if it be conceded that Isaiah only collected his prophecies (which had been delivered during a period of nearly half a century) towards the end of his life, it is not a long step to admit that certain additions may have been made to the collection by his disciples after his death.

3. Baron von Hügel illustrates § by a wealth of quotation which is almost redundant what “the critics are coming to admit and to proclaim” “as to the whole subject of the Prophets and Prophecy,” and what “Catholic scholars are coming to reaffirm” on the same subject. There is some indefiniteness about these phrases, which perhaps in the short

* Cornely, *loc. cit.*, p. 369.

‡ Article ii. p. 18.

† *Loc. cit.*, p. 145.

§ Article ii. pp. 19-29.

compass of a review article it was not easy for the author to avoid. Two remarks may, however, be made on this part of the subject.

(a) The quotations which the Baron makes will convince the reader that critics now proclaim "the unique grandeur and universal importance of the Prophets."* Indeed, of late, an immense literature has come into being, treating of the theological value of the Old Testament, especially the Prophets; and owing its origin largely to the great influx of Christian scholars into the critical camp. No one will deny the importance of this interest displayed in the spiritual significance of Old Testament prophecy. It would not, however, be just to imagine that critics of an earlier day were not alive to it; though, doubtless, they devoted more attention to the critical examination of the prophetic writings.

(β) In the same way, it would be a mistake to suppose that Catholic scholars are only now finding out "the variety and fulness of the prophet's vocation;"† and Baron von Hügel accordingly speaks of Catholics coming to "reaffirm" such conclusions. For they form nothing more than ordinary Catholic teaching as to the prophetic office. Thus, Cornelius à Lapide lays down a three-fold prophetic duty,‡ viz. (1) to teach the people what to believe and what to do; (2) "to preach;" and (3) "to foretell the future." And Ubaldi is but resuming the usual teaching of Catholics, when he writes :§

We read that they (*i.e.* the Prophets) had much to do with the rooting out of abuses, the correction of wicked kings, and bringing them to a better state of mind; often with waging war and transacting political business connected with the preservation and prosperity of the chosen people.

IV.

Dealing with the question of the Gospels, Baron von Hügel writes that, "the position of affairs is remarkably improved for the apologist, as compared with fifty years ago;"|| and he points to Dr. Holtzmann as regarding the years 69–96 as

* Article ii. p. 19.

+ *Loc. cit.*, p. 25.

† "Commentaries," vol. xi. p. 62, *et seq.*

§ "Introductio," vol. ii. p. 416.

|| Article i. p. 20.

the normal ones for SS. Mark and Matthew; 96–117 for St. Luke, and admitting almost the traditional date for St. John. Indeed the tendency of New Testament criticism generally, from the time of Baur, has been decidedly favourable to the apologist; and though the space dividing the critic from the apologist is still wide, it becomes sensibly diminished as time goes on.

1. It is a matter of indifference to Catholics, whether the synoptical question be settled by the utilisation theory, the documentary hypothesis, oral tradition, or by combination of two or more of these methods. Indeed, though no doubt the majority of Catholic writers favour the system of oral tradition, still such representative names as Patrizzi, Coleridge, Schanz, Bacuez, Maier and Langen lend their sanction to the hypothesis of mutual dependence. Nor does it seem commendable to suggest, as Father Cornely does, that the document theory, whether in the form of a primitive gospel of many editions (Eichhorn), or as supposing the existence of a large number of Greek and Aramaic fragments, containing separately accounts of the discourses, miracles, and parables of Our Lord (Schleiermacher) “ seems unworthy of an inspired writer. For who can picture to himself the Evangelists, with four or five volumes in Aramaic and Greek before them, now inspecting one, now another, then a third and fourth, and copying from them ? ” * Few, if any, in these days adopt such an explanation. But why endeavour to refute them by the aid of anathema ? For it does not seem to be any more contrary to inspiration for the Evangelists to act in this way, than for the Authors of Judges and Samuel and Kings to have freely used written sources.† Still less does it seem fair to suggest of the theory of mutual dependence : “ Nescio an dignitati Evangelistarum satis consulat.” ‡ Dr Salmon has some very pertinent remarks on this subject.” §

There are some who think that they are entitled to reject without examination both the first and the second of the solutions I have stated, because they cannot believe that if a story of Our Lord’s life had been

* Cornely, “ *Introductio*,” vol. iii. p. 178.

† *Ibid.* pp. 231, 243, &c.

‡ *Ibid.* vol. iii. *loc. cit.*

§ “ *Introduction*,” p. 130.

once written down by an inspired hand any subsequent writer who knew of it would permit himself to vary from it in the slightest degree; while they do not find the same difficulty in conceiving that variations may have been introduced into the narrative in the process of oral transmission before it was written down. For myself, I see no *a priori* reason for preferring one account of the matter to the other. If we had had to speculate beforehand on the way in which it was likely God would have provided an inspired record of the life of His Son upon this earth, we should not have guessed that there would be four different narratives presenting certain variations among themselves. But we know, as a matter of fact, that He has not seen fit to secure uniformity of statement between the sacred writers. . . . I content myself with the matter of fact that God has permitted that there should be variations between the Gospels; and if He did not choose to prevent them by miraculously guarding the memory of those who reported the narratives before they were written down, I know no greater reason for His interfering miraculously for a similar purpose on the supposition that the Evangelists used written documents.

2. Dr. Holtzmann, it will be observed,* is disposed to dispense with the so-called Proto-Mark, in the solution of the synoptic problem, so that Catholics have now only to deal with the Aramaic original of St. Matthew, in addition to the three Synoptics. And they, on their part, are evidently showing themselves ready to admit that considerable differences may exist between the Aramaic original of St. Matthew and the actual Greek edition of that Gospel.† As to the order in which the Evangelists wrote, Catholics are wedded to no special theory,‡ so that no dogmatic objection can be taken to the priority of St. Mark or to his dependence upon the Aramaic original of St. Matthew.

3. Nothing can show more clearly the collapse of the extreme views of Baur and his school, as to the dates of the Gospels, than the words of Renan—a man who was entirely free from theological bias:

On the whole, I admit § [he writes], as authentic the four Canonical Gospels. All, in my opinion, date from the first century, and the authors are, generally speaking, those to whom they are attributed.

As to the mode of composition also, his words are important:

* B. von Hügel, p. 23.

† Cf. v. Hügel, vol. i. pp. 24–25.

‡ Cornely, vol. iii. p. 179.

§ "Life of Jesus," p. 21.

On the whole we may say that the synoptic compilation has passed through three stages: first, the original documentary state (*λόγια* of Matthew, *λεχθέντα ἡ πρᾶχθέντα* of Mark), primary compilations which no longer exist; secondly, the stage of synoptic mixture, in which the original documents are amalgamated without any effort at composition, without there appearing any personal bias of the authors (the existing Gospels of Matthew and Mark); thirdly, the state of combination, or of intentional and deliberate compiling, in which we are sensible of an attempt to reconcile the different versions (Gospel of Luke). The Gospel of John, as we have said, forms a compilation of another order, and is entirely distinct.*

Every Catholic will look with distrust upon Ernest Renan. Still his words are an acknowledgment of the advance of the conservative position. Already, since he wrote, the Proto-Mark has been, one may say, abandoned. And then as to the very passage quoted, who will care to deny that Mark, the spokesman of Peter, and Matthew the Apostle represent the earlier and simpler Gospel narrative? Luke, the polished Greek writer, the disciple of Paul the later convert, is admitted by all to have compiled a more elaborate work. The Gospel of John stands apart from the synoptists, and, according to Catholic tradition, had a theological end in view.†

4. It is over the historical value of the Gospels that the apologist and the critic are most seriously at issue. It is true Dr. Holtzmann admits that persons go too far who say that "an historical interest was not, or was hardly, a part cause in the composition of the Gospels," and admits, at least of the synoptists, that, "they contain as their kernel nothing else than the genuine and, in its chief features, easily recognisable picture of Jesus of Nazareth."‡

This is not a large concession, especially when we know that Dr. Holtzmann entirely rejects the miraculous in the life of Christ.§ In fact, it is hardly more than is made by Renan, when he says||: "They (the Gospels) are neither biographies after the manner of Suetonius, nor fictitious legends in the style of Philostratus; they are legendary biographies." Indeed, though it is not easy to get a positive statement in the

* "Vie de Jésus," p. 22.

† Cornely, vol. iii. pp. 238-247.

‡ v. Hügel, article i. p. 22.

§ Cf. Knabenbauer, "St. Matthew," vol. i. p. 7.

|| "Vie de Jésus," p. 25.

negative criticism of Strauss, still, prescinding from St. John, as Dr. Holtzmann does, and allowing for the supernatural element, it would not be going too far to say that he admitted a kernel of truth in the Evangelists, especially St. Matthew.*

It is, however, satisfactory to find a definite admission as to the existence of an historical "kernel" in the synoptists, in the writings of such an "advanced" critic as Dr. Holtzmann. Indeed, such an admission may be regarded as a criterion of the improved position in which the Gospels now stand in face of criticism, owing largely to the advance of historical research and to the light thrown upon the New Testament by the discovery of ancient texts.

V.

So far the remarks of this paper have been addressed to the consideration of the Bible, *qua* collection of human documents; it will now be necessary, in this last section, to discuss certain aspects of the Bible question in which the Bible is treated as a Divine Library, received as such from the Church. Many topics suggest themselves for notice. Three only, as being the most important, have been selected for consideration.

1. In Baron von Hügel's treatment of the Canon † will be found a very fair and impartial estimate of the present position of the question. No evidence is necessary to show that, from the time of Luther, a bitter controversy has raged between Catholic and Protestant writers on the subject of the Canon, and that the controversy has turned upon the canonicity or non-canonicity of the Apocrypha, or Deutero-canonical books. Indeed, during the last half-century and up to a few years ago the ardour of the conflict showed no signs of abating. Thus, in the year 1860 Dr. Angus wrote as follows in a well-known work, "The Bible Handbook."‡

If we examine by these tests the books called apocryphal, we shall be constrained to reject their authority as Divine. *Externally* the evidence is conclusive. *Internal* evidence, moreover, is against their inspiration. Divine authority is claimed by none of the writers, and by

* "New Life of Jesus," vol. i. pp. 150-183.

† Article iii. pp. 284-292.

‡ Pp. 79-80.

some it is virtually disowned. The books contain statements at variance with history, self-contradictory, and opposed to the doctrines and precepts of Scripture.

And again, Dr. Salmon, only a few years ago, in his "General Introduction to the Apocrypha":*

Some of the books of the Apocrypha are plainly indefensible by any one who holds any high theory of inspiration.

If the books of the Apocrypha are to be called sacred and canonical, it can only be by maintaining that these epithets can be bestowed on books full of blunders and false conceptions, which the early Church would have thought it scandalous to attribute to any books which they regarded as inspired.

From these quotations, it will be seen that, even up to quite recent times, the use of strong language as to the canonicity of the deutero-canonical books had not been abandoned by Protestant writers. But there are signs of a change. Dr. Sanday's words, in the reprint of his Bampton Lectures,† and quoted by Baron von Hügel, are full of promise, as showing the opinion held on the subject by one of the foremost Biblical scholars of the day. "I confess that the Roman definitions on this head," he says, "do not seem to be irreconcileable with fact and history, or to be such as need divide Churches." It is only fair to say here, that to the two volumes of the Abbé Loisy on the canons of the Old and New Testament, Dr. Sanday's moderation of tone seems largely due, and that he writes of this work in the volume cited above (p. 276)—"His whole book is written with conspicuous lucidity and moderation, and well deserves to be studied."

2. On the subject of Inspiration, the two following points are well worthy of consideration.

(a) *The Formal Decrees of Councils.*—It is a significant fact, that the Church has never varied much in her statements as to the Inspiration of Holy Scripture, but has confined herself to defining the truth embodied in the profession of faith prescribed by the fourth council of Carthage for the consecration of bishops, and still in use in the Church. "Credis etiam Novi et Veteris Testamenti, Legis, Prophetarum

* Edited by Dr. Wace, vol. i. p. xxxiv.

† "Inspiration," p. 275.

et Apostolorum, unum esse auctorem, Deum et Dominum Omnipotentem? Credo." The same formula was proposed by Innocent III. to the Waldenses (1215); by Clement IV. to Michael Palæologus (1264); and afterwards addressed by that Emperor to the second council of Lyons (1274). Finally it was embodied by the Councils of Florence, Trent and the Vatican in their decrees. And if the Vatican Council made an addition to the words of Florence and Trent, it was only for the purpose of safeguarding the proposition—misunderstood in some quarters—that "God is the author of the Sacred Scriptures." Hence she explained that they are sacred and canonical, not "because they were composed by mere human industry, and then approved by her authority; nor because they contain revelation without error."*

This uniformity of teaching will appear the more remarkable when one remembers that it was maintained through a long course of centuries, and amidst far-reaching variations of feeling and opinion as to the nature and scope of Inspiration. The fourth Council of Carthage was held under the influence of St. Augustine and his school; and St. Augustine is generally credited with having held a very strict view as to Inspiration. But none of his opinions found their way into the decrees of the Councils of the African Church that were held in his time.

Then again the Council of Trent was held, when, as Ubaldi testifies,† Protestants

not only admitted the Inspiration of Scripture, but defended a very strict theory regarding it, viz., that not only are the ideas inspired throughout, but that the very words, style and points are to be referred to the Holy Ghost.

Indeed, even among Catholics the same views seem to have largely prevailed.‡ But the Council was not influenced by the state of things existing around it. No addition was made to the defined doctrine of the Church on Inspiration. The Fathers were content with defining that God is the Author of both Testaments.

* Sess. iii. const. dogm. de Fide Cath. Cap. ii. de Rev.

† "Introductio," vol. ii. p. 16.

‡ Ubaldi, *loc. cit.* p. 18.

Last of all comes the Vatican Council, in the midst of rationalism and the higher criticism. The narrow views of the early reformers have now given way to the loose doctrines of the Broad Church. The discoveries of science and history have begun to unsettle the minds of many timorous Christians. The attention of the bishops in council is turned to the Inspiration of Scripture. The outcome is the same:—God is the author of Sacred Scripture.

(β). *Development.*—Though the doctrine of the Church has thus remained unaltered during the centuries, the theory of development seems to apply to the explanation of it. Time, experience, contact with hostile criticism, deeper study, and the revelations of science and history, bring out more clearly, year by year, what is exactly the meaning of the doctrine “God is the author of Sacred Scripture.” In his study of “the incomprehensibleness and ineffableness of God for all but Himself,” and the constant tendency of knowledge, in every branch, to grow, Baron von Hügel uses the words :*

“ Some such tardy and intermittent awakening, some such startling novelty, we shall then be prepared to find in Biblical science also, in so far as it has affinity with the natural and purely historical sciences, and is not occupied with the dogmatic or devotional facts and meaning of the Books; and this development of doctrine and dogma we shall expect to find in the Bible itself (p. 9).

Now it is clear that, in the writings of the early Fathers, there is a tendency to an ultra-strict view of Inspiration. Thus—to take only one instance—St. Irenæus says† that the Holy Ghost directed St. Matthew to write (i. 18), “the Generation of Christ” instead of “the Generation of Jesus.” So that, apparently, even in such cases he would consider the very selection of words to be the work of the Holy Ghost. Indeed, even in the sixteenth century and later, as has been seen, and even among Catholics, this spirit was still alive. Thus in the preamble to the sentence passed in Rome on Galileo (1633), it is stated that the theologians who had been appointed by the Holy Office as qualificators in the proceedings of 1615 and 1616 had reported, among other things, to the following effect :

* Article i. pp. 5-12.

† “Adv. Hær.” iii. 14, 2.

That the sun is the centre of the universe and immovable is a proposition absurd and false in philosophy, and formally heretical, as being expressly contrary to Sacred Scripture.

Hence the tribunal declares that "Galileo had made himself vehemently suspect of heresy, *i.e.*, of having believed and held a doctrine false and contrary to the Sacred and Divine Scriptures."*

Things have advanced since those days. The doctrine of the Church has not altered; the responsible teaching of the schools is the same. But that floating opinion in the Church, which is liable to change, which is open to the light of science and history, and which so often appears in the pages of the Fathers, has developed: and its development is clearly marked in many parts of the eloquent and weighty Encyclical of Leo XIII., "On the Study of Sacred Scripture." The sacred writers, says the Holy Father, "did not seek to penetrate the secrets of nature, but rather described and dealt with things in more or less figurative language, or in terms which were commonly used at the time." Again: "they went by what sensibly appeared." Again, of history: "The principles here laid down will apply to the cognate sciences, and especially to history."† In these and other prudent yet significant words of Leo XIII., some idea may be gained of the development of opinion within the Church as to the meaning of Inspiration, since the days of the early Fathers, and even since the sixteenth century.

3. Perhaps the multiplicity of subjects to be dealt with made it impossible for Baron Von Higel to refer to archaeology; or, perhaps, with many modern scholars, he does not attach so much importance to the influence of that study upon the interpretation of the sacred books. Certainly he does point‡ to "recent discoveries, especially the *Diatessaron*" of Tatian (1876, 1888), among other causes, as having "helped in various ways and degrees to re-confirm early dates for the composition of the Gospels as probable, indeed, in part, as necessary." To the

* Cf. *Cath. Dict.* art. "Galileo." Let it not be supposed that it was Catholics alone who so taught. Calvin exclaimed, "Who will venture to place the authority of Copernicus above that of the Holy Spirit?" And John Owen, the Puritan, "Newton's discoveries are against evident testimonies of Scripture."

† Pp. 24, 25.

‡ Article i. p. 20.

writer, the discoveries of archaeology have had a greater restraining influence on the imagination of critics than either the progress of Semitic philology or the internal criticism of the text.

In the Encyclical the Pope makes some very wise remarks as to the neglect of history among the higher critics. The higher criticism, he says,* "pretends to judge of the origin, integrity, and authority of each book from internal indications alone." And again:

It is clear, on the other hand, that in historical questions, such as the origin and handing down of writings, the witness of history is of primary importance, and that historical investigation should be made with the greatest care, and that, in this matter, internal evidence is seldom of great value, except as confirmation.[†]

Now, even such an enthusiastic critic as Professor Cheyne admits that "until Schrader and Sayce arose, Old Testament critics did not pay much attention to Assyriology,"[‡] and declares himself ready to subscribe the proposition that "some critics needed to be stirred up to greater zeal for archaeology; that Kuenen, for instance, had not given enough attention to Assyriology, and that Wellhausen and Robertson Smith had in former years (like other Semitic scholars) displayed an excessive distrust of that study" (p. 235). What does that mean but neglect of history? And what do many of the concessions made by critics within the last few years show, but that the conclusions of criticism, when not controlled by history, are very often precarious in the extreme?

Professor Sayce does not, therefore, overstate the case when he says §: "The literary analyst cannot afford to neglect the help of historical evidence." And the following words of his deserve careful consideration:

The higher critic is also required to determine the authenticity or credibility of the historical narratives which the documents contain. For

* P. 23.

[†] The Pope, no doubt, refers to genuine historical evidence. For many Old Testament books none such exists to enable us to give accurately authorship or date—e.g., Joshua, Judges, Kings, Chronicles (*cf.* Loisy, "Canon of New Testament," p. 256). In such cases it may be taken the Pope would not only sanction but commend the large use of internal evidence.

[‡] "Founders of Old Testament Criticism," p. 234.

[§] "Higher Criticism and the Monuments," p. 9.

this part of his work his documents will not suffice: he must compare their statements with those of other ancient records, and ascertain how far they are in accordance with the testimony derived from elsewhere. It is, in short, in his historical analysis that he is called upon to seek for external evidence, and if he neglect to do so he will be in danger of drawing conclusions from a "single instance." It is here that he must seek the aid of archaeology, and test the results at which he may arrive by the testimony of the ancient monuments (p. 7).

It is only recently that the critics in general have begun to make serious use of archaeology. Even still it is looked upon with suspicion by some*; and it is clear that, though Dr. Driver calls Professor Sayce our "foremost English representative of archaeology,"† it is not fashionable among critics to look with approval on the writings of that *savant*. Still archaeology has already modified in many respects the more extreme conclusions of criticism; and every year fresh discovery seems to add new confirmation to the narratives of the historical books of the Old Testament.

The Church of God has passed through many conflicts with error in her passage through the centuries. In childhood she was confronted with the horde of Gnostic delusions. Scarcely emerged from the darkness of persecution, she had to withstand the onset of Arianism and the family of errors arising from it. In the sixteenth century the doctrine of tradition was the subject of attack. Out of all these conflicts the Church arose stronger than when she entered the battle, with her doctrine clearer and more precise than it was before. She is now face to face with the false teaching of rationalism relative to the Sacred Scriptures. But it will pass away, discomfited, as the errors that have preceded it. The Church will rise superior to it all. And when the smoke of battle has cleared away, her children will have gained a more thorough and accurate appreciation of her doctrine on Sacred Scripture than was possible for their fathers in the far-off ages of Faith.

J. A. HOWLETT.

* Judges, by Moore, p. 84, *et seq.*

† "Archaeology and the Higher Criticism," *Contemporary Review*, March, 1894, p. 415.

ART. IV.—ALEXANDER VI.

Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters. Mit Benutzung des päpstlichen Geheim-Archives und vieler anderer Archive bearbeitet von Dr. LUDWIG PASTOR. Dritter Band. Geschichte der Päpste im Zeitalter der Renaissance von der Wahl Innocenz' VIII. bis zum Tode Julius' II. Freiburg: Herder. 1895.

READERS of the two former instalments of Pastor's History of the Popes of the Renaissance have been eagerly looking forward to the appearance of the volume which would deal with the pontificate of Alexander VI. They have anticipated that the learned historian's labours in the secret Archives of the Vatican (now opened up by the high-minded liberality of Leo XIII.), could not fail to throw light on the story of that much-disputed period; and they have been confident that, while due weight would be given to all that could tell in favour of Alexander, nevertheless every compromising document would be honestly published and fearlessly commented upon. They will not be disappointed when they take up the volume which now lies before us. Dr. Pastor has had free access to all of Alexander's Bulls and Briefs which had been withheld from publication during the past three hundred years. He is also the first to make thorough use of the vast collections of ambassadorial communications preserved at Mantua, Modena, and Milan. With the modesty of a profound scholar, he does not claim to speak the last word on the Borgias; but he does not hesitate to say that henceforth all attempts to rehabilitate Alexander must be utterly hopeless.

In this age of revising the verdicts of history, it would have been strange if the Borgia family had not found enthusiastic advocates. Most modern students have long been convinced that the bitter partisan writers of the Renaissance—Infessura, Machiavelli, and Guicciardini—had overshot the mark in their accusations against Alexander and his children. The abominations set down as veritable history have staggered belief, and when critically examined have been found to rest upon the scantiest

evidence. Hence a reaction has come in. Olivier ("Le Pape Alexandre et les Borgias") maintained that Alexander's children were born in lawful wedlock before he took orders; while Leonetti ("Papa Alessandro VI.") went so far as to say that Alexander had no children at all, but only nephews. Though both these writers found some favour, it is noteworthy that their most damaging assailants have been Catholics. The great Jesuit periodical, *La Civiltà Cattolica* (March 15, 1873), from the first utterly scouted Olivier's contentions. Leonetti was refuted in a most learned article from the pen of Henri de l'Epinois, in "Questions Historiques" (1881), an article highly praised in *Le Controverse*. The Bollandist Matagne ("Quest. Hist." 1872), the great historian, von Reumont ("Freiburg. Kirchenlex.") and Hergenröther ("Kirchengeschichte," ii. p. 748), have been equally outspoken in their condemnation of these attempted defences. To this list the weighty authority of Dr. Pastor's name must now be added. The following article is based upon his researches. It is well to warn the reader that Alexander's story is truly a horrible one. But we have the highest authority bidding us remember that while the historian should never dare to say what is false, so he should never fear to say what is true.* If, on the other hand, some should find fault because the vices of the Pontiff are not here sufficiently denounced, I would answer:

E se non fosse ch'ancor lo mi vieta
 La riverenza delle somme chiavi,
 Che tu tenesti nella vita lieta,
 I' userei parole ancor più gravi.†

The old Catalan race of the Borja, or Borgia, as the Italians pronounced the name, had produced many remarkable men, even before the days of the Renaissance. Nature had endowed them with beauty and strength, with intellectual ability, and a commanding energy of will.‡ At the time when the Church was rich and powerful, such a family would be certain to play

* "Enitendum magnopere ut omnia ementita et falsa, adeundis rerum fontibus refutentur; et illud in primis scribentium observetur animo, primam esse historiæ legem ne quid falsi dicere audeat: deinde ne quid veri non audeat; ne qua suspicio gratiæ sit in scribendo, ne qua simultatis" (Leo XIII. "De Studiis Historicis," Aug. 18, 1883).

† "Inferno," xix. 100 seq.

‡ Gregorovius, "Lucr. Borgia," 3.

an important part and attain to the highest posts in her gift. Accordingly, we find in the early part of the fifteenth century, one of their number, Alonso (Alfonso), occupying the rich see of Valencia. His skill in diplomacy and his fidelity to Eugenius IV., gained for him a cardinal's hat (1444), and eleven years later he was chosen Pope, under the title of Calixtus III.* The great event of his pontificate was the signal defeat of the Turks at Belgrade (July 21-2, 1456). Unfortunately, his pontificate is also memorable for the scandalous excess to which he carried the baneful practice of nepotism. His Spanish relatives were very numerous, and some of them had come to Rome while he was still a Cardinal. They belonged chiefly to the allied families of Borgia, Mila, and Lanzol. Caterina Borgia, one of his sisters, was married to Juan Mila, Baron of Mazalanes, and was mother of young Luis Juan; another sister, Isabella, the wife of Jofré Lanzol, a nobleman possessed of property at Xativa, had two sons, Pedro Luis and Rodrigo. Luis Juan was made Bishop of Segorbe, Governor of Bologna, and soon afterwards Cardinal (1456). Pedro Luis, who remained a layman, was loaded with offices and honours. It is Pedro's brother Rodrigo whose career we are now to study.

Rodrigo Lanzol (or Lenzuoli, as the Italians called him) was born at Xativa, near Valencia, on January 1, 1431. His great talents early marked him out for the favour of his uncle, Cardinal Alfonso, who gave him, by adoption, his own family name of Borgia, and conferred many benefices upon him. When the Cardinal became Pope, the young Rodrigo was sent to Bologna to study law. In the secret Consistory of February 20, 1456, Calixtus created him a member of the Sacred College, although he was barely twenty-five years old. His bitterest enemies have, however, admitted his remarkable abilities. Thus, Guicciardini says that "in him were combined rare prudence and vigilance, mature reflection, marvellous power of persuasion, skill and capacity for the conduct of most difficult affairs." A few years after his nomination he is described by Gaspari di Verona as "handsome, of a pleasant look and honeyed tongue. He attracts ladies to love him, and draws

* Pastor, "Gesch. der Päpste," i. 535; Eng. trans. ii. 317 *seq.*; DUBLIN REVIEW, July 1892, p. 1.

them to himself more strongly than a magnet draws iron."* This last remark prepares us for what is to follow. In an admonitory letter of the year 1460, Pius II. severely reprimands Rodrigo for his unseemly conduct at an entertainment given at Siena. True, the offender was not yet in priest's orders ; but he was Bishop elect of Valencia and Vice-Chancellor of the Church, as well as Cardinal.† No result seems to have followed this rebuke, for we find him leading an immoral life when present with the Crusaders at Ancona (1464).‡ Four years later he was nominated Bishop of Albano, and was ordained priest. Nevertheless, it is after this very time that we have undoubted evidence of the beginning of a *liaison* which lasted for a number of years. The lady was Vanozza de' Catanei, who was born in Rome in 1442. By her he had four children—Cesare, Juan, Jofré, and Lucrezia. There were also two elder children, Pedro Luis and Girolama, who were probably born of another mother.§

During the pontificates of Pius II. and Paul II., though not in the favour of either of these Popes, Cardinal Borgia contrived to increase his influence, and to amass an enormous fortune. But under Sixtus IV. (1471-1484) the same pernicious practice which had so early conferred upon him the highest ecclesiastical offices, now raised up formidable rivals. Six of the new Pope's nephews were named Cardinals ; and among these, two especially, Giuliano della Rovere and Pietro Riario, were loaded with other honours and benefices.|| The

* "Formosus est, letissimo vultu, aspectuque jocundo, lingua ornata atque melliflua, qui mulieres egregias visas ad se amandum gratar allicit, et mirum in modum concitat, plusquam magnes ferrum : quas tamen intactas dimittere sane putatur" (Muratori, iii. pt. ii. 1036).

† Olivier and Leonetti throw doubt on the authenticity of this brief. Dr. Pastor says that it is still preserved in the Secret Archives of the Vatican (Lib. Brev. 9, f. 161), and that there is absolutely no ground for denying its authenticity. See "Hist. of the Popes" (Eng. trans.), ii. p. 454.

‡ Pastor, loc. cit. p. 455, n. 2.

§ A little comparison of dates, as L'Epinois observes, is enough to dispose of Olivier's contention that all of these were the offspring of a lawful marriage between Rodrigo and Giulia Farnese. Lucrezia died in child-birth in 1519. Had she been born in lawful wedlock she must then have been at least sixty-three years old, seeing that her father Rodrigo was a Cardinal in 1456. Again Giulia, who is said by Olivier to have died in Valencia in 1486, is spoken of many times during Alexander's pontificate. She did not die till 1524. (Rawdon Brown, "Calendar of State Papers," iii. p. 358, quoted in *La Civiltà*, p. 728.)

|| DUBLIN REVIEW, Oct. 1895, p. 320.

death of Pietro in his eight-and-twentieth year put an end to his scandalous career ; but Giuliano long survived to be the determined adversary of the Borgias. When Sixtus died, Cardinal Borgia felt that his chance of obtaining the tiara had come at last. He immediately began to make lavish promises to his brother Cardinals ; and so confident was he of success that he gave orders for the barricading of his palace against the pillage which was customary on such occasions. But once again was the old adage verified : *chi entra papa esce cardinale*. In spite of all his intrigues he could reckon on no more than five votes, a number just short of those cast for his rival, Giuliano. Barbo, a nephew of Paul II., a man of austere manners, received more votes than both together, but he could not reach the requisite two-thirds majority. Borgia now put forward his countryman Moles, whose age and weak health gave promise of a short Pontificate and a fresh conclave ; but this design was thwarted by Giuliano, who, also seeing his own chance hopeless, endeavoured to secure the election of his creature, Cardinal Cibò. Several of the Borgia party were won over by Giuliano's promises, and at length Rodrigo himself gave in his adhesion. Cibò, who took the name of Innocent VIII. (1484–1492), remained completely under the influence of Giuliano. All that Rodrigo Borgia could do was to add to his already enormous possessions and provide for the welfare of his children.

The next conclave, that of 1492, will ever be infamous in the annals of the Church. Borgia was now more than sixty years of age. If he failed this time he could have no further hope of success. Yet his chances seemed less hopeful than ever. For the past twenty years Giuliano della Rovere had been in power, and was now supported by France, Genoa, and Naples. The first three scrutinies, however, pointed to the probable election of Caraffa or Costa ; both excellent men, whose elevation would have been of great benefit to the Church. But Borgia did not despair. His great wealth, his numberless honours and benefices were freely held out as bribes to the electors. To Sforza he promised not only the Vice-Chancellorship and his palace, but also the Castle of Nepi, the rich bishopric of Erlau, and other benefices ; to Orsini, the important cities of Monticelli and Soriano, the Legation of the

Mark, and the bishopric of Cartagena; to Colonna, the Abbey of Subiaco and a number of surrounding villages; to Savelli, Civitâ Castellano and the Bishopric of Minorca; to Pallavicini, the Bishopric of Pampeluna; to Michiel, the suburbicarian Bishopric of Porto; to Sclafenati, Sanseverino, Riario, and Domenico della Rovere, rich abbeys and benefices. In this way fourteen votes were secured. Only one more was required, but this proved most difficult to obtain. Caraffa, Costa, Piccolomini, and Zeno were not to be won over by the most dazzling promises. To his great credit, young Cardinal Giovanni de Medici (afterwards Leo X.) held fast to this party. Giuliano della Rovere was of course bitterly opposed to Borgia. Basso and Lorenzo Cibò would have nothing to do with the traffic. There remained only Gherardo, who was now in his ninety-fifth year, and was hardly capable of forming a judgment. His friends persuaded him to vote for Borgia, and thus the election was accomplished (August 10th, 11th, 1492).*

Here we may well pause and ask how it came about that a man who was utterly unfit for the very lowest of the Church's offices, should now have attained to the highest. No words can be too severe to apply to the conduct of the Cardinals. If they believed him to be unworthy they basely sacrificed the welfare of God's Church in return for his bribes. But the case would seem to be far worse. Some of them, at least, actually thought him a good man for the post! His scandalous life was well known to them—but what of that? He was a man of high intelligence, he was gifted with ready speech and was marvellously skilled in the management of affairs. His handsome appearance in his early days has already been described. At the time of his election he still retained much of his youthful vigour and good looks, while his majestic presence and dignified manners excited the admiration of all who beheld him. This, surely, was the man to restore order in Rome, to settle the Neapolitan succession, to confront the ambitious Charles VIII of France, and to circumvent the wiles of the Medicis and Sforzas. The Cardinals hardly seem to have given a thought to the fact that they were choosing the Vicar

* The authorities for this account of the conclave may be found in Pastor, iii. 275 *seq.* The German edition is henceforth referred to.

of Christ. Those who have studied the pontificates of Calixtus III., Sixtus IV., and Innocent VIII., and have noted the successive appointments to the Sacred College, may be shocked indeed, but cannot be surprised that the Princes of the Church should have lost all sense of the sacredness of their office. The Romans, who were the witnesses of all this corruption, had naturally come to look upon the Pontiff in the light of a worldly ruler; and hence they celebrated the election and coronation of Alexander VI. (so must we call him now) with unexampled enthusiasm and splendour. So, too, in the rest of Italy, with the marked exception of Venice, the appointment was favourably received. The foreign powers reserved their approval, but their hesitation was due more to fear of the new Pope's abilities than to abhorrence of his vices. They dreaded that the papacy should fall into the hands of one who could be as bold, as cunning, and as unscrupulous as themselves.

Any hope that the graces and responsibilities of his high office would change the character of Alexander was speedily destroyed. True, he put down disorder with a high hand, and endeavoured by his injunctions and by the example of his own frugal household expenses, to restore the Papal finances. He even promised to reform the Court, to keep his children away from Rome, and to unite Christendom against the Turk, as his uncle Calixtus III. had tried to do. But these promises came to nothing. In his first consistory he conferred a Cardinal's hat upon his nephew Juan, Archbishop of Monreale. Cesare, now a youth of seventeen, received his father's rich Bishopric of Valencia, in addition to that of Pampeluna, which he already possessed. A year later he also became a member of the Sacred College, at the same time as John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, Ippolito d'Este (a boy of fourteen), and Alessandro Farnese (b. 1468), who afterwards became Pope Paul III.*

* "With regard to the nomination of Alessandro Farnese, Sigismondo de Conti observes that it was due to the request of the Romans, while other informants speak of illicit relations between Alexander and Farnese's sister, 'Giulia la Bella.' 'If this was really the case,' says von Reumont (iii. 267), 'Farnese's excellent qualities gave ample reason for burying all such suspicious beginnings.' . . . All further doubt as to the *liaison* between Alexander and Giulia (which, however, dates back to his time as Cardinal)

The young Cardinal made no pretence of having any vocation to the ecclesiastical state or even of leading a moral life. War and politics, art and literature, bull-fighting and amours were his chief occupations and amusements. Even more than his father, he was the typical Borgia—brilliant, stealthy, determined, unscrupulous, eaten up with vice and ambition. He never became a priest; indeed he was only waiting for an opportunity to cast away his scarlet hat and his benefices, and to contract an advantageous marriage. His younger brother Juan, Duke of Gandia, was married to the cousin of Ferdinand of Spain. Far inferior in ability to Cesare, he was his equal in vice. On him Alexander conferred the principality of Tricarico. Jofré, the third brother, was made Prince of Squillace, with a revenue of 40,000 ducats, and he received in marriage a daughter of Alfonso of Calabria. Thus were the honours, the wealth, and the possessions of the Church lavishly bestowed on these worthless youths and their friends by the infatuated Alexander; but much as he loved and spoiled them, none of them had so great a place in his affection as the notorious Lucrezia.

Annalists, epigrammatists, and modern historians, says von Reumont, have vied with novelists and playwrights in representing Lucrezia Borgia as the most abandoned of her sex—as the heroine of the dagger and poisoned-cup. She lived in a wicked age, at a wicked court, amidst the wicked example of her own family; and yet, however much she may have been affected by the corruption almost universally prevailing, she was far from deserving such an evil reputation. The gravest charges are based on reports, the exaggerations and foulness of which surpass the bounds of credibility or rather of possibility—or else they are found in the satires of a city whose wit has always been most bitter and cutting. A multitude of facts give the lie to these statements. . . . Without doubt she must be acquitted of the majority of the charges heaped up against her.*

All the writers of the day speak with rapture of Lucrezia's beauty and grace and gaiety. When she was only eleven years

was removed by the publication of the Brief of L. Pucci, Dec. 23 and 24, 1493. See Gregorovius, "Lucr. Borgia," appendix, n. 11; L'Epinois, 397 *seq.*; and Pieper, Burchardt's "Diary," xvi. 22." Pastor, iii. p. 301. It was Paul III. who summoned the Council of Trent and approved of the Society of Jesus. He also made Blessed John Fisher a Cardinal.

* III. ii. 204, 206. Gregorovius, on his own account, comes to the same conclusion ("Lucr. Borgia," p. 159 *seq.*) Dr. Pastor, however, gives proof that she had an illegitimate child (iii. 289, note).

old she was betrothed to a Spanish nobleman, Juan de Centelles, and afterwards to Count Aversa. But when her father became Pope, a more brilliant alliance was sought for her. Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, who had played so prominent a part in Alexander's election, brought about her betrothal to his relative Giovanni Sforza, Lord of Pesaro. The marriage was celebrated with much splendour in the Vatican itself, in the presence of Alexander and twelve Cardinals. "The ladies danced," says the Ferrarese Ambassador, "and a good comedy was played with songs and music. The Pope and all the others were present. . . . Thus did we spend the whole night."* Much more shall we hear of Lucrezia and her brothers, for Alexander's sole object seemed to be the aggrandisement of his family. Meantime we must turn our attention to another quarter, where a great movement was on foot to put an end to the scandals and miseries of the Church.

Unhappily it has been our lot to have to dwell on the shameful characters of a shameful period of the Church's history. But it would be a grave error to take no notice of the many holy men and women who deplored the evils of the time, and prayed and laboured for reform. Zealons missionaries recognised that they could best promote God's glory, not by going to far-off lands to carry the Gospel to the poor benighted infidels, but by converting the profligate pagans at home. The Franciscans, who had the melancholy distinction of counting among their members Sixtus IV. and his dissolute nephews, also gave to the Church such stirring missionaries as St. Bernardine of Siena (died 1444); Albert of Sarteano (died 1450); Antony of Rimini (about 1450); Sylvester of Siena (about 1450); John of Prato (about 1455); St. John Capistran (died 1456); Antony of Bitonto (died 1459); Jacopo della Marca (died 1476); Robert of Lecce (died 1483); Antony of Vercelli (died 1483); Michael of Carcano (about 1485); Bernardine of Feltre (died 1494); Bernardine of Bustis (died 1500). The other Orders of Friars, Servites, Carmelites, and Augustinians likewise could boast of famous preachers; but it was the Order of St. Dominic which furnished the greatest of them all—Girolamo Savonarola (1452–1498).

* "Recitatique ibi sunt comedie et quidam lascive." Burchard, "Diarium," ii. 80.

Savonarola's early efforts at Ferrara and Florence had been failures. Far from being discouraged, his spirit was stirred within him at the wickedness of these cities. In the Lent of 1485, while preaching at San Gimignano, near Siena, he startled his hearers by boldly foretelling the speedy chastisement and reform of the Church. Where denunciation had been in vain, prophecy produced the most extraordinary results. His confidence in his predictions, the force with which he enunciated them, the Scriptural authorities by which he supported them, all these aroused the greatest interest and alarm. The fame of the prophet spread from city to city, until at last in 1491 he was invited to speak from the pulpit of the Duomo at Florence—the Notre Dame of the Renaissance. The spacious edifice was thronged in every part by thousands waiting long hours for the appearance of the little Friar, with the pale ascetic face, deeply furrowed brow, dark piercing eyes, bold aquiline nose, and thick compressed lips. It seemed to them as though one of the old Hebrew seers had come back to earth again. His style of preaching was that of the prophets and apostles ; he made no elaborate divisions of his subject ; he propounded no questions for solution ; he avoided all rhetorical display. Taking some passage of Scripture, usually of the Old Testament, he expounded it according to the four-fold meanings : literal, allegorical, moral, and anagogical.* This gave him ample scope for his scathing denunciations and confident predictions. No one was spared : none was to escape the wrath close at hand. Lorenzo the Magnificent, though openly and repeatedly attacked, endeavoured in vain to conciliate the outspoken Friar. The clergy, especially those in high places, were assailed with a violence which in truth they richly deserved. What gave the greatest force to his words was the fact that his own life was a shining example of the reform which he laboured to introduce. He brought back his own convent of St. Mark's to the strict observance of the austere Dominican rule : and of his brethren he had the coarsest habit, the hardest bed, the smallest and most scantily furnished cell. For three years he continued his denunciation of

* Litera gesta docet : quid credas allegoria :
Moralis quid agas ; quo tendas anagogia.

vice and promise of speedy chastisement, until in the Lent of 1494 he astounded the Florentines by announcing the coming of a new Cyrus, who was to march in triumph through Italy. In the following September he spoke again of the same subject. With harrowing tones he gave out the words of God to Noah : “Behold, I will bring the waters of a great flood upon the earth.” As he spoke, it was as though a thunderbolt had fallen on the Duomo. The assembled multitudes were stricken with horror and dismay ; no man spake to his neighbour : nothing was heard but wailing and lamentation. News came soon after that Charles VIII. of France was rapidly advancing towards Florence at the head of a mighty army. The citizens rose in rebellion against the Medicis and cast them out, and on November 19 the invaders entered the city.

The closing years of the fifteenth century mark a new epoch in European history. The nations, much as we have since known them, first begin to appear. The English have been driven back to their own island ; Spain has been united under Ferdinand and Isabella, and has rid itself of the Moors ; the long reign of Frederick III. has made Austria the centre of German affairs. But it is in France that we note the greatest change. The work of deliverance and union, begun by the piety and valour of the Maid of Orleans and carried on by the good fortune and cunning of Louis XI., was completed by the marriage of his son Charles VIII. with the heiress of Brittany. Without great abilities, but conscious of the strength arising from national union, the young King Charles began to entertain vast schemes of conquest. He would cross the Alps and would march through Italy to make good his claim to the crown of Naples ; he would take the cross against the Infidel and gain possession of the capital of the East ; he would even bring the whole of Christendom under one supreme ruler.* At the end of August 1494, he set out from Grenoble. Most of the states of northern Italy, by their hatred of the Neapolitans, received the invader with open arms. On September 5 he was at Turin ; October 14 at Pavia ; October 18 at Piacenza. As he drew near to the Florentine territory,

* Pastor, iii. p. 311 *seq.* Dr. Creighton has an admirable chapter on Charles VIII.’s Italian expedition, iii. p. 179 *seq.*

Piero de' Medici brought him the keys of all his strongholds. On November 8 he had reached Lucca, where he was met by Savonarola, who hailed him as sent of God to set free the people of Italy and to reform the Church. There, too, he found another envoy, Cardinal Piccolomini, who came with overtures from Alexander VI. But Charles made answer that he himself would visit Rome and would negotiate with the Holy Father in person. Nine days later (November 17) he made his triumphal entry into Florence amidst the joyful acclamation of the citizens.

The Pope's position was full of peril. He had sided with Alfonso II. against the French claim, and now the French king at the head of an invincible host was almost at his gates. Worst of all, his deadly rival Giulano della Rovere was in Charles's company, and boasted everywhere that the French were about to depose the simoniacial usurper of the Papacy and summon a General Council. Alexander made ready for flight, but the enemy advanced so rapidly that flight became impossible. Nothing was left but to come to terms. Charles promised to respect all the Pope's spiritual and temporal rights, and asked for quarters and a free passage for his troops on their road to Naples. On these conditions he entered the Eternal City on the last day of the year, 1494. The splendid equipments and the warlike aspect of the French filled the Romans with admiration and terror. They cried out: "Francia! Colonna! Vincoli!" * as they saw the King ride along with Cardinals Sforza, Giulano della Rovere, Colonna, and Savelli. While his bitterest enemies were thus in triumph, Alexander fled for refuge to the Castle of S. Angelo, hourly expecting his deposition. But in truth the French King had no desire to make any change. What could he gain by setting up Ascanio Sforza or Giuliano? Alexander was completely in his power and could no doubt be compelled to grant all that he required. Accordingly, a treaty was entered into: Cesare Borgia was to accompany the French army as Legate (really as hostage); Djem, the Sultan's brother, a valuable prisoner in the Pope's possession, was to be handed over to Charles, but the annual sum of 40,000 ducats paid for his keep by Bajazet II.

* Giulano della Rovere was Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli.

was still to go to Alexander ; a general pardon was to be granted by the Pontiff to all who had sided with the French. Nothing was said about Naples. Alexander now invited the French king to the Vatican, where the Stanze Nuove was fitted up for his reception. The two sovereigns met for the first time in the Vatican gardens in an informal way, and on January 19 Charles appeared in state at the public Consistory to do homage. After making the three prescribed genuflexions, he kissed the foot and hand of the Pontiff, who then raised him up and embraced him. Then the President of the Parliament of Paris announced that his royal master requested several favours, especially the investiture of the kingdom of Naples. To this Alexander gave an evasive reply. Nevertheless, Charles said in French : " Holy Father, I am come to offer obedience and reverence to your Holiness, as my predecessors the kings of France have been wont to do," thereby acknowledging Alexander, as the President explained, to be the true Vicar of Christ and successor of the Apostles, Peter and Paul. During the rest of his stay in Rome, Charles made repeated attempts to obtain the investiture of Naples, but the Pontiff remained true to Alfonso. That unfortunate monarch, however, abdicated as soon as the French drew nigh to his frontiers. Very little resistance was offered to the invaders, who made their entry into Naples on February 22. Now was the time for Charles to prove the sincerity of his promises to wage war on the Turk and reform the Church ; but the king and his army gave themselves up to the delights for which the beautiful southern capital has ever been notorious. Meantime, the northern Italian states, urged on by Ferdinand and Isabella and Maximilian, who were alarmed at the triumphant progress of the French, formed themselves with the Pope into a Holy League against the " foreign barbarians." But disunion prevented them from availing themselves of the chances offered them by Charles's carelessness. After celebrating his coronation at Naples he started back for France. In spite of the assurance which he gave to Alexander, the Pontiff fled from Rome to Orvieto, leaving Cardinals Morton and Carvajal to receive him in the Eternal City. Charles was true to his word. Having paid a visit to St. Peter's (June 1, 1495) he passed on with his army to

Siena and Poggibonsi. In the last-named city he was met by Savonarola.

Most Christian King [said the prophet] thou hast provoked the anger of the Lord, because thou hast neglected the reform of the Church which the Lord so often enjoined on thee by my mouth and for which he set thee apart by such unmistakable signs. For this time thou wilt escape the danger; but if thou dost not take up again the abandoned work—if thou hearkenest not to the command which the Lord now again repeats to thee by His unworthy servant—I hereby make known to thee that God in his anger will send upon thee much greater evils and will set up another in thy stead.

A determined effort was made at Fornuovo to cut off the retreat of the French; but Charles fought his way through, though with the loss of many men and most of the booty which he had collected (July 6), and finally reached his own kingdom (November 1495).

By the departure of the French King, Alexander felt himself safe from any further attempts to depose him. Taking advantage of this security, he now set about the destruction of all who had opposed him and favoured the invaders. Among these, the Orsini had especially distinguished themselves; and on them the Pope was resolved to wreak special vengeance. His son Juan, Duke of Gandia, in whose military abilities he placed great confidence, was summoned from Spain and was nominated Captain-General of the Papal forces. At first Juan's campaign was attended with marked success. Serofano, Galera, Formello, and Campagnano were captured; Anguillara of its own accord opened its gates. But Bracciano, the stronghold of the Orsini, held out against all his attacks; and finally the papal army was completely defeated at Soriano, Juan himself being wounded (January 25, 1497). Alexander was compelled to agree to a peace which made the Orsini once more the virtual rulers of the Campagna. His efforts against Giuliano della Rovere's partisans were more successful. Ostia was taken; Giuliano was deprived of all his benefices; Giovanni, Giuliano's brother, was removed from the post of prefect of the city. In Rome the Spanish party was now supreme. The Pope showered upon them and on his sons especially all the spoils of the vanquished. In spite of his defeat Juan received the Duchy of Benevento, and the cities of

Terracina and Pontecorvo; Cesare, who was still a cardinal, was appointed to go as Legate to Naples to crown the young king, Federigo.

But the triumphs and the wickedness of the Borgia family soon met with terrible retribution. On the evening of June 14th, Vanozza gave a supper to her sons—Juan, Duke of Gandia and Cardinal Cesare—and to their cousin, Cardinal Juan Borgia, at her villa near S. Pietro in Vincoli. It was rather late when the young princes mounted their mules to return to the Vatican. When they were near the Palazzo Cesarini, where Cardinal Ascanio Sforza was living, the Duke left the others on the plea of going in quest of further pleasure. He took up behind him a masked figure who had been present at the supper, and rode away. As he did not appear the next morning, his servants informed the Pope of what had taken place. Alexander, however, saw little reason for anxiety: the Duke was probably engaged in some love intrigue. But when evening came and there were still no signs of his son, he became greatly alarmed. Orders were given to make most diligent search for the missing Duke. At last on the 16th a Slavonian wood-seller gave information that on the night of the supper he had seen a party of men throw a corpse into the Tiber. When asked why he had not immediately informed the Governor, he replied that in his time he had seen a good hundred corpses flung into the river without any one taking any notice. Numbers of fishermen were at once set to work to dredge the stream, and in a few hours a body was found near a garden belonging to Cardinal Sforza. It was the Duke of Gandia. His throat had been cut, and there was eight other terrible wounds on the corpse. He was still dressed in his rich apparel; his purse containing thirty ducats had not been touched. "When Alexander VI. heard that the Duke had been murdered and flung like dirt into the river he was deeply grieved. He shut himself up in his chamber and wept bitterly. From Wednesday evening till Saturday he neither ate nor drank, nor did he sleep a moment."*

* Burchard, "Diarium," ii. 390, 391. Burchard is the chief authority for the story of the murder. He gives no opinion as to who was the perpetrator of the outrage. Suspicion pointed to the Sforzas or to the Orsini. Alexander

This terrible blow caused Alexander to enter seriously into himself. He resolved to take stringent measures for the reform of the Church, and to entirely change his own mode of life. On June 19th a commission of six Cardinals, including the pious Costa and Caraffa, was appointed to draw up plans of reform. Jofré Borgia was sent away from Rome, and it was reported that henceforth the Pope would allow none of his children or nephews to reside with him. The Bull of reform which he intended to publish may still be seen in the Vatican archives. It contains admirable regulations for the amendment of the Papal Court and of the Cardinals, for the suppression of traffic in benefices, and for the enforcement of residence and so forth. Unfortunately it was never published. As Alexander recovered from his grief he felt more and more the difficulty of breaking with his old life and separating himself from his children. In September Cesare returned from Naples, laden with money and honours, and demanded permission to resign his Cardinal's hat and to marry. For some time there had been difficulties between Lucrezia and her husband Giovanni Sforza. As the marriage had not been consummated, the Pope dissolved it (December 20). Giovanni took a terrible revenge. He accused Alexander of acting for the most atrocious motive; and, incredible as it may seem, the slander was believed in many quarters. "It will be observed that Giovanzi did not accuse Alexander VI. in the past, but imputed a motive for his conduct in the future. This motive was shown to be false by the fact that the Pope instantly set to work to provide a new husband for Lucrezia. . . . It is bad enough that Alexander gave a colourable pretext to such slanders. The slanders themselves rest on no evidence that justifies an impartial mind in believing them."* Not long afterwards, however, a child was born, which was acknowledged by Alexander to be his own.[†]

himself believed the latter to be guilty. Many thought that the Duke was simply the victim of some injured husband. Later writers have accused Cesare. Dr. Pastor altogether scouts this view. His own opinion is that the Orsini, knowing the vicious habits of the Duke, made away with him on occasion of some love adventure. He gives this only as a strong suspicion (Pastor iii. 361 *seq.*). In truth the Borgias had made so many enemies, and these were, like themselves, so murderous, that the difficulty lies in picking out which of them was the actual criminal.

* Dr. Creighton, "Hist. of the Papacy," iii. p. 161.

† There are in the Vatican Archives two bulls of the same date (Sept. 1,

While Alexander and his family were desecrating the Vatican by their scandalous lives, Savonarola had become the virtual ruler of Florence. The people saw in him the true prophet of all that had come to pass; he alone had been able to win over the French king before his entry into Florence; he alone had induced him to depart. To him they looked for counsel and command in the difficult task of reforming the political constitution now that the Medici had been cast out. Thus it was that the pious mystic found himself called upon to deal with matters quite foreign to his disposition and training.* Nevertheless his success, at least for a time, was marvellous. Florence, as his enemies declared, became one huge monastery. His reforms embraced not only politics, but social life, science, literature, and art. In opposition to the Paganism of the false Renaissance, Christianity was to resume its sway over every department of life; the popular cry was henceforth to be *Erviva Cristo!* the divine law was to be the one supreme standard of action; Christ Himself was proclaimed King of Florence and Protector of her freedom, and Savonarola was His prophet. Naturally enough the zealous Friar longed to extend his reform to Rome, the capital of Christendom, where reform was needed even more than in his own city. The vices of the Pope and the Curia were denounced by him in terms of the bitterest invective.

Strange as it may seem, Alexander bore these attacks with the greatest equanimity. Had the Prior of St. Mark's confined himself to religious questions he would have received no condemnation from Rome. When, however, he intruded himself into the domain of politics, and openly sided with the Pope's political foes—the French especially—then it was that Alexander de-

1501) relating to this child Juan Borgia. In the first he is declared to be the natural son of Cesare, and is said to be about three years old; in the second, he is described as son of Alexander. The explanation of this discrepancy would seem to be that the second bull was not to be produced unless necessary. In the first it is stated that the legitimization is to hold good even if doubt should arise as to Cesare's paternity, and if the father should prove to be "eiususcumque dignitatis et excellentiae mundane vel ecclesiastice *etiam supreme.*" Burchard says that the mother was "quedam Romana." The horrible suggestion of Guicciardini and others that Lucrezia was the mother is now commonly rejected. Dr. Pastor has a long and valuable note on this miserable question, iii. p. 449 seq.

* This is not the place to treat of the theocratic democracy which Savonarola established. See Pastor, iii. p. 139 seq.; Villari, i. 266 seq.; Dr. Creighton, iii. p. 217.

terminated to put a stop to his preaching. A Brief, dated July 25, 1495—that is, a fortnight after the battle of Fornuovo—ordered Savonarola “in virtue of holy obedience,” to betake himself to Rome to render an account of his prophecies and revelations.* He, however, begged to be excused; his health would not permit him to travel, and, besides, the welfare of Florence required his presence. Then came a second Brief (September 8), couched in the severest terms, directed not to St. Mark’s, but to the rival convent of Santa Croce, and forbidding Savonarola to preach. The unfortunate Friar replied that the Pope had been misled by hostile informants; he had never claimed to be a prophet, though some things which he had foretold had afterwards come to pass. “I have preached nothing,” he adds, “but the teaching of the Doctors of the Church. If I have ever departed from this I will repent and acknowledge it before all the people. Once more I repeat what I have always said, viz., that I submit myself and all my writings to the judgment of the Holy Roman Church.”†

Through the good offices of Cardinal Caraffa, verbal permission was granted to Savonarola to resume his preaching provided that he confined himself to purely religious subjects. Accordingly in Lent 1496, he once more ascended the pulpit of the Duomo; but so far from abiding by the conditions, he declared the Papal Briefs to be of no effect because based on false information and contrary to Christian charity; and in almost every sermon he vehemently denounced the vices of Rome. Nevertheless it was not until November that Alexander sent another Brief, and even then he insisted only on the removal of Savonarola from Florence. It is clear enough that the Pope was not alarmed at the prophet’s denunciations: what he really feared was the return of the French, and the summoning of a General Council to depose him. In March 1497, however, he complained bitterly to the Florentine Ambassador of the conduct of the Government of Florence in allowing Savonarola to attack him, and indeed in

* The terms of the Brief are most friendly. Villari attributes this to craft on Alexander’s part (i. p. 382). Ranke, however, admits the great moderation of the Pope (“*Studien*,” p. 246).

† Villari, ii. pp. 35, 36.

the Lenten course of this year the Prior of St. Mark's spoke more openly than ever of Alexander's simony, nepotism, and vice. But now his own popularity was waning. The drastic reforms on which he had insisted had made him many enemies; and not a few of his partisans began to weary of the gloomy life they were leading. His sermons were interrupted by riots, so that the Government had to forbid all preaching by the members of any religious order whatsoever. Then Savonarola wrote to the Pope (May 22nd) declaring that he had never attacked any special person, least of all the Vicar of Christ, and that he submitted himself to the judgment of the Church. Alexander, however, had already taken decisive measures by signing a decree of excommunication. Once again the recalcitrant Friar replied that the decree was invalid because founded on false information; he renewed his protestations of submission, but at the same time refused to obey commands opposed to Christian charity and the Law of God. Nevertheless, for a time he abstained from all his priestly functions; but when Christmas-day came he said three Masses and gave Holy Communion to a number of his partisans. In the following Lent (1498), in open defiance of the excommunication, he began a fresh course of sermons which surpassed in violence all that he had ever preached before. This time the Pope acted with promptitude. He commanded the Florentines, under pain of interdict, to put a stop to the sermons and to send the excommunicated Friar to Rome. Still, even now he declared that he condemned Savonarola, not on account of his doctrine, but for disobedience and contempt; and that he was ready to absolve him if he would submit. But Savonarola became more and more outrageous. He asserted that Alexander was not Pope at all, and he called upon the secular powers to summon a council to depose the usurper as guilty of simony, heresy, and infidelity. Can we wonder that the Pope at last took steps to destroy this implacable adversary?* In truth he found the Florentines

* Villari's "Life of Savonarola" is grossly unfair to Alexander VI., and is quite at variance with the most reliable documents—*e.g.*, the despatches of the Florentine Ambassador. In his review of this work Mr. Armstrong observes: "Even a Pope has some rights of self-defence, and had Alexander overlooked the contumacy of the Friar, the continuance of the Papacy would have been impossible. Until the last act of the drama, he seems to have

themselves only too eager for the destruction of their fallen idol. The melancholy farce of the ordeal by fire (April 7, 1498) disgusted even the best friends of Savonarola. Next day, Palm Sunday, the enraged mob stormed the Convent of St. Mark's, and the Prior himself was carried off to prison by the city authorities. As soon as the news of the arrest reached Rome, Alexander wrote expressing his satisfaction and asking for the surrender of the prisoner. Though this request was not granted, two Papal delegates were permitted to assist at the trial, and there is no doubt that the Pope insisted on the punishment of the man who had so repeatedly endeavoured to depose him. As might be expected, the decision of the court was that Savonarola and two of his brethren were to die for their "monstrous crimes." The condemned men met their doom with courage and calmness. They were first degraded as heretics, schismatics, and despisers of the Holy See, and afterwards were handed over to the secular power. Then they were hanged till they were dead; their bodies were burned, and the ashes were thrown into the Arno (May 23, 1498).*

The remaining five years of Alexander's pontificate are simply the reign of Cesare Borgia. By permission of the Pope he laid aside all his ecclesiastical dignities and married Charlotte d'Albret.† The death of Charles VIII. and the accession of Louis XII. brought about a complete change in the Papal policy. France was now closely allied with the Holy See. Cesare became Duke of Valence, and rode side by side with his old enemy, Cardinal Giuliano, as Louis entered Milan in triumph (Oct. 6, 1499). Though the season was far

acted with singular moderation, and the changes which the author (Villari) ascribes to malevolent cunning were clearly due to a real difficulty in taking stringent measures against a man for whose life and moral teaching he had considerable respect" ("Eng. Hist. Rev.", iv. p. 455). Dr. Creighton's admirable chapter on Alexander VI. and Savonarola, is also in marked contrast to Villari's partisan account ("History of the Papacy," iii. 215).

* Dr. Pastor ridicules the Protestant legend which represents Savonarola as the precursor of Luther. No doubt there may be found among the writings and sayings of the great Florentine reformer many fierce invectives against the Pope. But what pious Catholic will think hardly of him for this? He did not attack the Holy See, but only the man who most unworthily occupied it. In his "Triumph of the Cross" he says: "Qui ab unitate Romanae Ecclesiae doctrinam dissentit, procul dubio per devia aberrans a Christo recedit, sed omnes heretici ab ea discordant, ergo si a recto tramite declinant neque Christiani appellari possunt" (Lib. iv. c. 6). See Newman, "Occasional Sermons," p. 210, *seq.*

† It has already been noted that he never took sacred orders.

spent, the young duke marched southwards and captured the important cities of Imola and Forli. A splendid reception awaited him in Rome : Alexander could not restrain his joy at the brilliant success of his son, and conferred on him the royal gift of the Golden Rose (March 29, 1500). Meantime, Lucrezia had been married a second time to Alfonso of Bisceglia, a natural son of Alfonso II. The marriage, which promised to be a happy one, was brought to an untimely end. As Alfonso was leaving the Vatican on the evening of July 12, he was set upon by a band of assassins and grievously wounded. Nothing could dissuade him from the belief that Cesare had ordered the attempt to murder him. The Pope and Lucrezia vainly endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation. Before he was well recovered from his wounds, Alfonso shot at his brother-in-law from the window of his sick chamber, and was thereupon cut to pieces by Cesare's guard (August 18). It is no wonder that the pilgrims who came flocking to Rome in this year of the great Jubilee (1500) were profoundly shocked at the condition of the Holy City. At a time when peace and good-will should prevail, they found all Italy in arms and Rome itself one vast camp. The successor of St. Peter, whom they came to venerate, was an old man still living in sin with his children around him. His son, a brilliant young libertine, was openly selling nominations to the Sacred College, and diverting all the Jubilee alms to the fitting out of a mighty expedition. But let us hurry on to the end of this sad and disgraceful story.

A year after the death of her second husband, Lucrezia was betrothed to Alfonso, the eldest son of the Duke of Ferrara. The preparations for the marriage were carried on in most royal style. "I intend," said Alexander to the Ferrarese ambassador, "that Lucrezia shall have the most and the finest pearls of any Italian princess." Numerous splendid and licentious entertainments were given by Cesare and the ambassador, at which the Pope was present.* The marriage was celebrated in the Vatican with a magnificence surpassing all previous occasions. Alexander's wish was

* On the story "De convivio quinquaginta meretricum," see Pastor iii. 452, note 1.

accomplished : Lucrezia's trousseau and jewels were such as few queens could boast of. And now that she is leaving Rome never to return, it should be noted that her subsequent life at Ferrara was in every way exemplary. She proved a true and loving wife, a powerful protectress of the oppressed, a generous benefactress of the poor. She patronised the arts, and encouraged the society of such eminent men as Ariosto, Bembo, and Strozzi.*

Far different was Cesare's rule in Rome, where a veritable reign of terror prevailed. Discontent manifested itself in the most atrocious pamphlets against the Borgia family. Alexander himself took no notice of them ; Rome, he said, was a free city, where men could write and speak what they would. Not so Cesare. He looked upon such attacks as treason, and punished the offenders with extreme severity. Towards the end of 1502 his own generals, egged on by the Orsini, entered into a formidable conspiracy against him. Cesare was speedily informed of the plot, but he continued to act as though he had no suspicions. With the help of large appropriations from the Papal treasury he made his preparations in secret. On December 10 he set out with his forces from Imola to Cesena. "No one could divine the object of this movement," writes Machiavelli ; "all was mystery ; for this prince never speaks until he acts, and never acts until necessary." Soon it became clear that he was making for Sinigaglia. Andrea Doria, who held the castle there, fled away to Venice. When Cesare arrived he was met by the conspirators headed by Vitelozzo, two of the Orsini—Paolo and the Duke of Gravina—and Oliverotto of Fermo. He received them in the friendliest fashion, and with them he entered the city. All was now ready for action. The leaders were at once arrested, and their followers disarmed. That same evening Vitelozzo and Oliverotto were put to death ; a little later the two Orsini suffered the same fate. When the news reached Rome, Alexander seized Cardinal Orsini who had been the soul of the conspiracy, and shut him up in the castle of S. Angelo. He, too, soon after-

* The authorities for this latter period of Lucrezia's life may be found in Pastor, 453, note 2.

wards died—poisoned, men said, by the Borgias (Feb. 22, 1503).^{*} Two months later died Cardinal Michiel, one of the richest members of the Sacred College; and in his case it is highly probable that Cesare murdered him to gain possession of his wealth. In May, nine new Cardinals were nominated, each of whom had to pay some 20,000 ducats for his promotion.

Cesare, now triumphant over his enemies and with the treasures and influence of the Papacy at his back, began to dream of lofty schemes. His father, though past three-score-and-ten, enjoyed excellent health, and might be counted to last for yet many years. Negotiations were entered into by the Pope and the Emperor to grant to Cesare the investiture of Pisa, Siena, and Lucca (August 10). His forces were assembled at Perugia, awaiting only his arrival to march into Tuscany—when suddenly the hand of God put an end to all his hopes. On the morning of August 12 the Pope felt unwell. Vomiting and fever set in and lasted all night. Cesare, who was on the point of starting for Perugia, also fell ill. About a week before, the two had dined at Cardinal Adriano's villa, and had remained till nightfall. The danger of being out late in the open air at this season is well known; and in this particular year the fever was more than usually prevalent.[†] All who were present at the banquet suffered in some way. Alexander's illness proved to be a severe attack of tertian fever. The usual remedy in those days—blood-letting—was resorted to, at first with some success. During the whole of the 17th he felt much better. The night, however, was a bad one; the fever returned with such violence that all hope was at an end. The dying man made his confession and received the Holy Viaticum. He lingered on until the next evening, when he passed away about the hour of vespers (August 18, 1503).[‡]

* L'Epinois who, as we have seen, has been most outspoken on the crimes of Alexander and his family, contends that Cardinal Orsini died of disease.

† Cardinal Juan Borgia died of fever on August 5.

‡ The fact that the Pope and Cesare were both seized at the same time, and that Alexander's corpse rapidly became putrefied, gave rise to the suspicion of poison. The story received considerable embellishment from later writers. Dr. Pastor has carefully traced the course of the illness, and he quotes high medical authority showing that the symptoms were not those of any form of poisoning (iii. 468 seq.). Moreover, no writer who was present in Rome at the time, attributes the Pope's death to this cause. It is worthy of note that

At last God had delivered His Church from the foul clutches of this Judas of the Papacy. The feeling of relief which was so widespread as the news got abroad, is shared by us even now as we finish this story. As long as he lived there was no hope for the Church: now that he was gone, she could look forward to brighter days. But, alas! the evil that men do lives after them. When such a profligate could become Pope, and when a Pope could be such a profligate, can we wonder that some earnest spirits should have proposed to sweep away the Vatican and all its abominations? And yet these men were wrong. The office itself was sacred, and was necessary for the Church's existence. He who held it had covered it with infamy, but he could not change its essential character. What was needed was not to destroy the Papacy, but to purify it. Cleared of all the scandals which darkened it, it would once more shine out as the model, as well as the mother and mistress, of all the Churches.

Et gemma deterso luto
Nitore vincit sidera.

By God's mercy, the after history of the Borgia family gives us the most striking examples of the happy change which came over the Papacy and the Church. The unfortunate Juan Borgia, whose mysterious murder has here been recorded, left a widow, Maria Henriquez, and two children, Juan and Isabel. The last-named became a Poor Clare at Gandia, and was afterwards chosen abbess of that house.

Isabel was eminent [says Butler, October 10] for her extraordinary devotion and love of extreme poverty and penance. Her mother (Maria Henriquez) afterwards entered the same austere Order, and survived in it thirty-three years, living the most perfect model of humility, poverty, recollection, and penance, under obedience to her own daughter. She met death with so much joy that in her agony she desired a *Te Deum* might be sung as soon as she should have expired, in thanksgiving for her happy passage from this world to God. . . . Her son Juan was a nobleman of singular virtue. When a person complained that his (Juan's) alms exceeded his estate, his answer was, "If I had thrown away a larger sum on my pleasures, no one would have found fault with me.

Calixtus III. (1458), Pius II. (1464), Sixtus IV. (1484), Innocent VIII. (1492), and Alexander VI. (1503), all died in the month of August. Paul II. (1471), died on July 26.

But I had rather incur your censure and deprive myself of necessaries than that Christ's members should be left in distress."

Juan's son, Francis, joined the newly-founded Society of Jesus, and became third General of the Order. And thus it came to pass that St. Pius V., a Pope of Savonarola's religious family, was working hand in hand at the Vatican with Alexander's great-grandson, St. Francis Borgia.

T. B. SCANNELL.

ART. V.—WANDERINGS OF EARLY IRISH SAINTS ON THE CONTINENT.

1. *Six Months in the Apennines.* By MARGARET STOKES.
London : George Bell & Sons. 1892.
2. *Three Months in the Forests of France.* By MARGARET STOKES. London : George Bell & Sons. 1895.

THE place of Ireland in religious history is so far unique that it had its period of greatest illumination when the light of Christianity burned lowest elsewhere, glimmering feebly through the Cimmerian blackness of the dark ages. That great catastrophe of civilisation, the collapse of the Western Empire, left unaffected the remote island in the ocean, the only known land on which the Roman had never set foot. Isolated from the current of universal history, and untouched alike by the material progress and moral corruption borne on the track of the legionaries, it had developed a social and religious system on lines of its own. Its people, then as now a warlike race, were identical with that inhabiting the western fringe of North Britain, and were, like them, called Scots ; while the centre and east of the country now known as Scotland, then Albyn, were occupied by the Picts, whose name has been merged into that of their neighbours.

The government of pre-Christian Ireland was at once monarchical and tribal, the chiefs being responsible to the provincial kings, and the latter owing allegiance to a nominal overlord, styled King of Ireland. The royal demesne of the suzerain was constituted by the lands of Meath, carved out of the four provinces at their meeting-point : and here was held the triennial assembly on the Hill of Tara, when the federated rulers and their chief counsellors met to confer upon matters of common interest.

An elaborate code of laws existed from a very early date, and class distinctions, based on property qualifications in land and cattle, were minutely discriminated. The religion of ancient Ireland was idolatry, mixed with elemental worship, of

which traces may still be found in popular superstitions. The great idol, Cenn Caerich, in the place of which, near the borders of Cavan, St. Patrick founded a church, was, we are told, covered with gold and silver, and surrounded by twelve lesser idols covered with brass. These formed, we may suppose, a Druidical circle like that of Stonehenge, of which many miniature examples still stand in remote parts of Ireland. The Druids, about whom so much has been written, and so little is known, combined the functions of professors of learning with those of soothsayers and wizards. Occult powers over nature, enabling them to produce fire, and call up tempest, fog, or darkness, are ascribed to them by the Irish myths; and their lesser spells included potions of oblivion, charms to cause trance or madness, and divination by the help of yew wands of the subterranean retreats of the hill-men or fairies. Popular legend recounts their attempt to defeat the preaching of St. Patrick by some of these incantations, and the saint's triumph over them by the superior power of prayer. The snakes and vipers which he was supposed to have banished from the island were probably, in the figurative language of the time, the demons evoked by the heathen rites he abolished.

Associated with the Druids as companions and disciples were the poets, so called because their utterances were all in rhyme, but who were really the national chroniclers, philosophers, and rhetoricians. This, and kindred professions, at one time absorbed, it is said, a third of the population of Ireland, which suffered, indeed, from a plague of poets, living upon and terrorising the people at large. Dabblers, too, in the occult sciences, they practised many idolatrous invocations forbidden by St. Patrick, who left them, however, the valuable privilege of composing satires on any prince or chief guilty of refusing them the just meed of their art. These so-called satires were powerful instruments for the levying of blackmail, as they were in many cases rhymed incantations, to which maleficent powers were ascribed. Numerous instances occur in Irish legendary history of the vengeance thus inflicted by unappreciated bards, and curious recipes are given for forging these bolts of destruction. The belief in the occult power of rhyme, at a period long subsequent to the preaching of Christianity, is illustrated by an anecdote of the poet Seanchan,

who flourished about 600 A.D. His indignation and disappointment at finding a favourite dish devoured by rats inspired a metrical satire, which caused ten of the predatory rodents to drop dead from the ceiling. Here we have the origin of the idea of rhyming rats to death referred to by Shakespeare and his contemporaries, as in Ben Jonson's *Poetaster*:

Rhime them to death as they do Irish rats,
In drumming tunes.

and in *The Defense of Poesie*, by Sir Philip Sidney, "Nor be rimed to death, as is said to be done in Ireland."

Armed with these supernatural weapons, the poets claimed immunities and privileges the enforcement of which rendered them very burdensome to the rest of the community. As each greater luminary of the art was entitled to have thirty satellites in his train, and each minor poet half that number, they roamed the country in peripatetic academies, carrying a pot into which the forced contributions of the public were thrown. This recipient formed the centre of their performance, as the nine best musicians of the party grouped themselves round it, accompanying on their instruments the recitative or tune to which the others chanted in alternate strophes a poem composed for the occasion. But if the offerings thrown into the pot fell below the expected scale, their laudatory strains were changed to denunciations, formidable no less to self-love than to superstition, since the force of potent maledictions was ascribed to them. Something of the feeling with which they were regarded still survives in the Irish peasant's dread of being what he calls "ill-wished," and in the popular belief in "curses" hereditary in some families, and dating from such cause as the malediction of a lame beggar refused an alms, and transmitted in the recurrence of a like misfortune in the birth of a crippled child in every subsequent generation. Thrice at least was wholesale sentence of banishment passed upon the Irish guild of poets, the last time in 590 A.D., for no less a crime than the demand from the reigning king of the golden brooch fastening his mantle, and forming the hereditary insignia of his rank.

But the very possibility of such abuses of the privileges of learning shows how deep-seated was the veneration with which

it was regarded by the community which could tolerate them. Nor can it be doubted that the standard of culture maintained by the existence of an exclusively literary class prepared the way both for the acceptance of Christianity and for the extraordinary efflorescence of scholarship and culture which followed it. Within a century of the death of St. Patrick not only was Ireland covered with churches and monasteries, but she had begun to attract to her shores the youth of the neighbouring countries anxious to share in her intellectual revival. To the legendary literature handed down by means of a written alphabet from a very early age was now added the study of the classics, together with the familiarity with the ideas of other countries implied by the community of ecclesiastical tradition. Down to the beginning of the ninth century the four Irish universities, Armagh, Downpatrick, Cashel, and Lismore, were frequented by students from all parts of Gaul and Britain. The first-named numbered 7000 alumni, and a third of the town was appropriated to the use of those from foreign countries, especially Saxons and Britons. The youths who flocked to these primitive seats of learning lived in huts forming an encampment round the dwellings of their teachers, and appear to have been supported by the inhabitants of the district. The Venerable Bede, in referring to an outbreak of plague and its ravages in Ireland in 664 A.D., says that "many of the nobility and lower ranks of the English nation were there at the time, having left their native island for the sake of study," prosecuted by going about from the cell of one master to that of another.

The Scots [he goes on, meaning the Irish then so called] willingly received them all, and took care to supply them with food, as also to furnish them with books to read, and their teaching gratis. Among these were Ethelwin and Egbert, two youths of great capacity of the English nobility, the former of whom was brother to Ethelwin, who also afterwards went into Ireland to study, and having been well instructed, returned to his own country, and being made bishop in the province of Lindsey, long governed that church worthily and creditably.

This passage shows the diffusion of learning through the adjoining countries from its centres in Ireland, and the important part played by these latter in supplying the British hierarchy with competent and efficient pastors. Student life in

those early times is illustrated by a curious story, quoted in Mr. O'Curry's work on "The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish" from an old manuscript on vellum, giving an account of the reign of Finnachta "The Festive," from 673 to 693 A.D. This monarch, when riding at the head of his cavalcade in the direction of Clonfert, came up with a youth, who, in getting out of the way of the horses, had the misfortune to break the churn he was carrying. Loudly lamenting his loss, he ran after the royal cortège explaining his circumstances and condition. He was, he said, one of a party of six students, three of them noble, and the other three serving lads in attendance on them. He, as one of the latter, had been taking his turn in going round the country to collect food for the other five, when he was so unlucky as not only to lose the day's pittance, but also to break the borrowed vessel in which it had been contained. The king heard his tale with interest, repaired his loss, and helped to forward the career of a lad who grew up to be the great scholar St. Adamnan, the holy and learned Abbot of Iona. Such was one side of Irish life, while the other consisted of rapine, slaughter, and the harrying by one petty monarch or chief of the subjects and dominions of the other.

In still greater contrast with the violence and anarchy of civil society was the picture presented by the great monasteries, with their hundreds and thousands of monks peacefully pursuing their avocation of teachers and evangelists. That of Bangor on Carrickfergus Lough, sheltered a community of 3000, and its first Abbot, St. Comgall, by whom it was founded in the middle of the sixth century, was said to have established a hundred religious houses, and to have had 40,000 monks under his jurisdiction. His numerous foundations were doubtless modelled, like those of his contemporary, St. Columba of Iona, on the Celtic tribal system, the abbot taking the place of the chief, and the community that of the muintar, or clan. The fact that his early life, like that of another great founder, St. Ignatius, had been passed in military service, enabled him to maintain in the cloister the discipline of the camp. Although his own wanderings were, in accordance with the advice of others, confined to the British Isles, he transmitted to his disciples that desire for the foreign apostolate which it was not

given to him to gratify in his own person, and gave the first impulse to the missionary spirit of the early Irish Church. The strength and importance of the movement may be measured by the number and dignity of the foreign foundations which it originated. Thus, to enumerate only those of the first rank, twenty-nine great monasteries in France, eighteen in Germany and Switzerland, five in the Netherlands, and four in Italy, owed their origin to wandering Irish monks, who revivified by the ardour of their newly-kindled faith, the flame then burning low in the lands where it had been earlier lit. For it was in the period covered by the preaching of St. Patrick, that had occurred the ruin of the existing social organism brought about by the collapse of the Roman Empire. The complete centralisation of all military power under the imperial system left the provinces utterly helpless for self-defence, when the legions, which knew no master save Cæsar, dissolved, like a spell-banned host, with the obliteration of that talismanic name. The cataclysm that followed brought the Church face to face with a new order of things while herself enfeebled by the universal calamities which struck at the roots of all human institutions. The secular clergy, recruited from a decimated population, were too few in numbers to cope with the victorious advance of Arianism on the one hand and idolatry on the other. The conversion of Clovis left the bulk of his subjects pagan, and the Franks of Belgium remained so until the eighth century. The Armorican Peninsula was a heathen country until after the death of St. Patrick, and idol worship subsisted in Switzerland down to a still later date. Material civilisation had perished equally with religion throughout great part of the Roman dominions, and in Gaul the primeval forest was again encroaching on the cultivated land, burying under a tangle of bush and scrub the sites of flourishing towns and cities. The commercial highway from the Loire to the Rhone traversed the great desert of the south, and six similar wildernesses existed in Burgundy, or northern Gaul, at the close of the sixth century. That mythical wonderland, the great forest of the Ardennes, extended across the Franco-Flemish frontier, and Switzerland was wrapped in a shaggy mantle of wood whose memory still survives in such names as Grindelwald, Unterwalden, and many others.

It was on this ruin of the ancient world, that the monastic orders began to rebuild from its foundations the shattered fabric of society. The movement initiated in the south, amid the din and turmoil of conflicting waves of barbarism, had its counterpart on the verge of the weltering Atlantic surges, for Columban, born in the year of Benedict's death, was mainly instrumental in carrying on the work of the Solitary of Subiaco. Starting from the great monastery of Bangor, with twelve companions, he began that series of apostolic wanderings, through which Miss Stokes has tracked his footsteps with such loving fidelity. Her rare qualifications as an archaeologist especially versed in the antiquities of her native land, have enabled her to revivify the legendary figures of the historic past, while her command of foreign languages comes into play in tracing out the memories left by her fellow-countrymen in other lands than their own. Her skilled pencil, again, co-operates with her pen in reproducing for her readers the scenes and monuments of their labours, in the series of illustrations which add so much to the interest and value of her volumes. But above all, she writes in a spirit of love and reverence for the holy men whose lives she has undertaken to elucidate, which colours with a glow of personal feeling all her narrative of their actions. The two works placed at the head of this article, though published separately as the result of two independent exploratory trips, are complementary to each other as studies of the same subject in France and Italy respectively. The method followed by the author is to prefix in each case to the account of her own researches, the life of their subject compiled from the most authentic sources. She then goes on to give the fruits of her pilgrimage, in descriptions of the existing memorials of the saint she treats of, the churches founded by him, the relics preserved in them, the pictures or bas-reliefs commemorative of his acts. She thus follows the track of St. Columban to the slopes of the Vosges, the scene of his first missionary labours abroad. Gaul was then divided into Neustria, Austrasia, and Burgundy, ruled respectively by Chilperic, Sigisbert, and Gontran, the three sons of Clothair. In or about the year 574, the King of Austrasia, having been converted by Columban, bestowed on him, at his own request, a vast desert

tract on the confines of Burgundy and Austrasia, where is now the western border of Alsace. Here all traces of Gallo-Roman civilisation had been obliterated by the passage of successive hordes of barbarians, and the wolf and bear made their lairs where art and luxury had had their homes under Latin domination. Relics of this past still survive in the shape of statuary dug up on the site of the baths of LuxeUIL, whose waters were noted for their virtue long before Julius Cæsar, in the year 58 B.C., reached this part of Gaul, and chose the fertile plains of Sequania, now Haute Saone, as winter quarters for his legions.

The Roman dominion [our author reminds us] then commencing in Gaul, lasted for about five centuries. The native proprietors of the land were renowned for their wealth, their rich possessions stretching from the mountains of the Jura, in smiling plains watered by broad rivers, and beautiful in their varied culture. In the second and third centuries, Christianity slowly penetrated to these districts, and insensibly extended its branches to Autun, Besançon, Dijon, Langres, Chalons, Toul, Metz, Trèves and Strasburg. Although at first Rome ruled by the sword alone, yet the Sequanais were gradually won over, more by the softening effect of civilisation than by arms, while the Romans associated them with them in the rights of citizens, and in political dignity, even opening to them a seat in the Senate. The first half of the long period was comparatively prosperous and happy, but the second was one long series of disasters following on the Germanic invasions. The progress of Christianity was arrested and all development paralysed. In the second half of the third century [260-268] the Rhine was crossed by the Barbarians, and all the provinces on the borders of the river, especially Sequania, were devastated. Then, A.D. 275-276, seventy-five Gaulish cities fell before Germanic tribes, who for two years unceasingly ravaged the country. A.D. 298-297 came another swarm of Germans, who were met at Langres and afterwards at the field of Windisch, by the Emperor, Constantius Chlorus. In the years, 304, 350, 355, and 357, successive invasions took place, when Besançon was ruined, Sequania depopulated, and the enemy penetrated to Lyons. In 378 the lands of Sequania are described as one vast solitude, in which no traces of the reign of the Emperors was to be found. Two more invasions followed, and then the advance of Attila dealt the final blow to the province of Sequania.

On the track of the Hun civilisation withered from off the face of the land, churches and dwellings were alike razed to the ground, the priests perished together with their flocks, and paganism reasserted its dominion over the ground lost to Christianity. To the Irish monk was due the first attempt at

restoration after this crowning disaster, and his famous foundations of Luxeuil, Fontaines, Annegray and Lure, were built on sites where the wilderness had usurped the place of culture and habitation. Full justice is done by our author to the part played by the monks in the task of reclamation.

The lives of these monks [she says] were not solely devoted to works of piety, they spread abroad knowledge and learning and arts, and contributed in many ways to the temporal well-being of the state. The art of silk-weaving, so useful throughout Europe, and especially in Italy, was carried from India by certain monks, who brought the first silkworms from thence and taught the people this manufacture. Agriculture also owes its progress to the monks; it was they who first brought the knowledge of this art to bear upon the most barren mountain side, and practised it in the thickest forest, teaching how such lands could be made useful, and adapting the various seeds and plants of foreign countries to the soil. Where they could not sow grain, they planted vines, and from hill to hill they cultivated olives; where fruit trees would not grow, they planted chestnuts, and their forests of pine-trees reached to the very summits of the mountains. Stagnant marshes were drained, and the poorest lands were fertilised by these monks, and ground uninhabitable through miasma has been rendered healthy through their means. The mountains of Grenoble in France, and of the Great St. Bernard, are evidence of this, not to mention Alvernia, Camaldoli, and Vallombrosa in Tuscany.

The moral influence of Columban was shown by the eagerness of the young Frankish nobles to enter his monasteries, in which the number of his disciples was sufficiently great to enable him to organise the *Laus Perennis*, or perpetual prayer, unceasingly kept up by relays of monks relieving each other at intervals.

The intrigue which led to his banishment from Austrasia after twenty years' apostolate, was due, like the condemnation of the Precursor of Christianity, to the resentment of a woman at an attempt to reform the royal morals. In his case, however, it was the grandmother of the young monarch, the fierce and imperious Brunehild, who saw in any counter-influence for good a danger to her own dominion over the mind of the weakling, whom she ruled without difficulty through his vices.

Columban, become a wanderer once more, passed through Switzerland, overthrowing the Pagan temples, and leaving his follower St. Gall, to found there the famous monastery called after his name. Crossing the Alps, he repaired to the court of Milan, where he was well received by the Lombard King,

Agilulph, and his consort Theodolinda. But despite the task of combating the Lombard heresy, which here gave congenial scope to his fiery spirit, his austere vocation drove him into the wilderness once more. Having obtained a grant of un-reclaimed land in the Apennines near Piacenza, he gathered about him a handful of disciples, and engaged in the arduous labours which resulted in the establishment of his last great foundation, the monastery of Bobbio. Miss Stokes' pilgrimage to the spot was rewarded by the discovery of many interesting records of his life and death, as well as of those of Saints Cummian and Attala, two other Irish bishops, who, like him, found their career of usefulness in exile. The cave of St. Columban, where he sought retirement from the distractions even of monastic life, is still shown, together with a gigantic hand-print on the mountain side, said to have been impressed by him, and credited with healing virtue by the peasantry of the district. The church, of which he is titular, contains his sarcophagus adorned with a series of archaic bas-reliefs, and in the sacristy are preserved his bell of the old Irish pattern, his knife, and the rude wooden bowl from which he drank. These were the treasures bequeathed by the great Irish Abbot to the convent where he breathed his last in the year 615.

From a purely archaeological point of view none of Miss Stokes' researches had a more interesting result than her identification of the old well of the monastery with the one specially mentioned in the original charter of King Agilulph, dated more than twelve hundred years ago. For this venerable document has a singular stipulation granting to Columban one half of a well, of which the other half had been otherwise bestowed, and the former wall of the monastery still bisects the well, which projects from its inner side in a semi-circular tank, leaving the corresponding half on the outer side for the use of the town.

The Rule of St. Columban, merged within fifty years of his death in that of St. Benedict, was in most respects a modification of it, probably derived from that framed by St. Comgall for the parent monastery of Bangor. While the career of this Saint typifies the spirit of Irish monasticism in its adaptation to the wants of neighbouring countries, that of St. Finnian, or Finnbar, illustrates the services rendered by the Celtic

hierarchy to the bereaved churches on the continent, in filling up the vacancies left in the ranks of the secular clergy. Born about 500 A.D., the son of the reigning king of Ulster, San Frediano, as he was afterwards called, passed from the island monastery of St. Mochae in Carlingford Lough to the Candida Casa, or "White House" of St. Ninian on the Mull of Galloway, a structure famous as the first built of stone in the country, whose name still survives in that of Witherne, borne by the district in which it stood. Hence he started on his first pilgrimage to Rome, with a view to procuring a copy of St. Jerome's revised version of the Scriptures, as yet unknown in Ireland. Returning with this treasure to his native land, he assumed the rule of the monastery of Moville in the County Down, establishing there a celebrated school which subsisted for two centuries.

The motive of his second journey was probably to visit the shrines and holy places of Italy, amongst which were the hermitages on the Monte Pisano between Lucca and Pisa, sanctified by the memory of Sant' Antonino, San Giuliano, and many other holy anchorites. Desiring to emulate their life of austerity, he took up his abode in the grotto of the Rupe Cavo, a rock dwelling occupied by many of his predecessors. He was not, however, destined to be left long undisturbed in his retirement, for the fame of his sanctity having become diffused through the country, the people of Lucca, on the death of their bishop, in about 560 A.D., compelled him, with the support of the Papal authority, to assume the vacant office. His pastorate coincided with the terrible crisis of Italian history, when the Lombard invasion, supervening on the exhaustion of the country after the protracted Gothic wars, caused that state of desolation described in the letters of Gregory the Great. To rebuild on the wreck of society after these calamities was the task of the Irish bishop, and the construction of the city of Lucca, reduced to ruins by the Arian conquerors, the conversion of many of their number to Latin Christianity, and the erection or restoration of twenty-eight churches throughout his extensive diocese, were among the fruits of his labours. His famous miracle of turning the course of the Serchio, so as to avert disastrous inundations, forms the subject of a picture by Filippo Lippi, and is recorded by St. Gregory on the authority

of the bishop of the adjoining diocese of Luna. However plausibly it may be explained as a figurative version of his construction of a canal, it was certainly believed to be supernatural by his contemporaries. This Hibernian Saint has left his name to one of the principal churches, not only of Lucca, but also of Florence, where it is extended to an entire quarter of the city.

Among other Irish missionaries treated of by Miss Stokes in her recent volume, is St. Fursa, the scene of whose apostolate lay in Picardy. Her discussion of his celebrated vision, and its place in the cycle of the *Divina Commedia*, might well form the subject of a separate treatise, as might also her chapters on early Irish ecclesiastical art and its relation to that of the continent. She shows how the close connection between Ireland and Gaul subsisted for several centuries, maintained, on the one hand, by the stream of missionaries poured out by the former, and on the other, by the contrary current of Gaulish students who flocked to the Irish schools. The high place held by these Celtic seats of learning is illustrated by a quotation from M. D'Arbois de Jubainville to the following effect :

What surprises us most about the Irish emigrants on the continent in the ninth century is that they knew Greek, and that they appear to have been the only people in Western Europe who did know it. They have Græco-Latin glossaries, Greek grammars, the books of the Bible in Greek accompanied by Latin translations; one of them, Johannes Scotus Erigena, has translated the apocryphal works of Dionysius the Areopagite from Greek into Latin. He was a disciple of Plato, whose *Timæus* he appears to have read in the original text; and he has founded a system of philosophy as astonishing for its time, as it is dangerous for its temerity, on the doctrines of this celebrated Greek writer. It was considered good taste among the Irish and a few other people also at this period, to scatter Greek words throughout the Latin text which they composed. J. Scotus was bolder than this; he wrote verses entirely in Greek.

This early reign of culture and erudition among the Western Gael lasted until Irish society, in its turn, came to be pulverised by the plough and harrow of barbaric invasion. The part of destroyers played by the Germanic tribes in continental Europe, was here enacted no less efficaciously by the Danes and Northmen, who ravaged Ireland with fire and sword

during the whole of the ninth and tenth centuries. When the Irish Arthur, the half-historical, half-legendary Brian Boru, appeared as a deliverer, who smote

The Godless hosts
Of heathen swarming o'er the Northern Sea;

it was too late to repair the intellectual ruin they had wrought. The faith, indeed, remained to Ireland, an indestructible inheritance, but the visible glory of art and letters that had irradiated its first spring had perished so utterly from her soil that its very memory seems now an all but incredible tradition.

ELLEN M. CLERKE.

ART. VI.—ONE OF CANON GORE'S
DISSERTATIONS.

Dissertations on Subjects Connected with the Incarnation. By CHARLES GORE, M.A., Canon of Westminster, of the Community of the Resurrection, Radley. London: John Murray, Albemarle Street. 1895. Pp. 323.

THESE dissertations are three in number. The first deals with the "Virgin birth of Our Lord"; the second with the "Consciousness of Our Lord in His mortal life"; the third is entitled "Transubstantiation and Nihilianism." We propose to give some account of the second dissertation.

"Any writer," says Canon Gore, in his introduction to this dissertation, "who cares for Catholic sentiment and traditional reverence . . . must approach this subject with great unwillingness." Canon Gore approaches the subject without the least sign of unwillingness. But then, he certainly does not care for Catholic sentiment. Whether he cares for "traditional reverence" or not we are not prepared to say. That he does not care for the reverence due to tradition his dissertation only too clearly proves. "This is not a question," says Canon Gore, "which ought to be encountered on the road to orthodoxy." There is no reason why this question rather than any other should not be encountered on the road towards orthodoxy. But Canon Gore is evidently thinking less of the question than of the answer he proposes to give to it. We can assure him that on whatever other road that answer be encountered, it certainly will not be encountered on the road towards orthodoxy. "Its logical place," continues Canon Gore, "is, I venture to think, that in which I have tried, summarily, to treat it in the *Bampton Lectures* of 1891—*i.e.*, after faith in the Incarnation has been established." After faith in the Incarnation has been established, Canon Gore's answer to the question is to be accepted, but only that faith in the Incarnation may be diminished. Canon Gore does not repudiate this inference. "Nor shall we be surprised," he says, "if more accurate investigations require in us some change of mind, not in the region of our central

faith, but in its more outlying districts." However, if we may believe Canon Gore, this change of mind, or change of faith (from the quotation just given the phrases would seem to be of identical value to Canon Gore) is easily effected. "It requires," he says, "only a little thought to see that the belief that God is incarnate in Jesus Christ does not carry with it to any tolerably cautious mind one certain and necessary conclusion, *a priori*, as to the question of the consciousness of the incarnate person." Canon Gore's dissertation is long, but we shall search it in vain for that "little thought" which alone is required "to see that the belief," &c.

The first statement that Canon Gore makes of his position runs as follows :

In a certain aspect, indeed, the Incarnation is the folding round the Godhead of the veil of the humanity, to hide its glory, but it is much more than this. It is a ceasing to exercise, at least in a certain sphere, and *so far as human thought can attain*, some natural prerogatives of the divine existence (p. 90).

Canon Gore has seen fit to italicise the words "so far as human thought can attain." Frequently, throughout the dissertation, he manifests *confusion* of thought. Here he singles out for especial notice words which indicate his *obscurity* of thought. And how does the passage just quoted compare with this other passage ?

And are we not helped . . . by reflecting that the attributes of God, on account of the perfection of His personal unity, are not (so to speak) separable from one another or from His personality, but are identically one (p. 219)?

If the attributes of God are identical with each other and with the divine personality, how can there be cessation of exercise on the part of *some* of the "natural prerogatives of the divine existence" without cessation of exercise on the part of all ?

A little later we come to a distincter statement :

Thus, if we express this in human language, we are forced to assert that within the *sphere* and *period* of His incarnate and mortal life, He did, and as it would appear habitually—doubtless by the voluntary action of His own self-limiting and self-restraining love—cease from the exercise of those divine functions and powers, including the divine omniscience, which would have been incompatible with a truly human experience (p. 94).

And developing this last declaration, Canon Gore says:

Now, in His glory, we must conceive that the manhood subsists under conditions of Godhead, "the glory of God"; but formerly, during His mortal life and within its sphere, the Godhead was energising under conditions and limitations of manhood (p. 95).

Canon Gore would have done well to have omitted this explanation. His logic or his faith is at fault here as elsewhere. If for the Godhead to energise under conditions of manhood involves the laying aside of omniscience by the Godhead, clearly for the manhood to subsist under conditions of Godhead involves the taking up of omniscience by the manhood.

Yet another statement of Canon Gore's position :

It is no doubt true that as God He possessed potentially at every moment the divine as well as the human consciousness and nature. But the self-sacrifice of the Incarnation appears to have lain in great measure, so far as human words can express it, in His refraining from the divine mode of consciousness within the sphere of His human life, that He might really enter into human experience (p. 97).

Is there in the whole range of theological literature such a statement as this, that God possesses *potentially* the divine consciousness and nature? Yet, absurd though the statement be, it is absolutely necessary for Canon Gore's contention. If Our Lord, as God, of necessity *actually* possessed the divine consciousness at every moment, *cadit quaestio*, He can lay it aside only on the supposition that, of necessity, it is only *potentially* possessed. But if He can lay aside the divine consciousness because, of necessity, it is only *potentially* possessed, for the same reason He can lay aside the divine nature, for that is ranked by Canon Gore with the divine consciousness as being *potentially* possessed. Once more, is it Canon Gore's logic or his faith that is at fault? Does Canon Gore really believe that Our Lord could have laid aside the divine nature, or is this absurd consequence of his own reasoning repudiated by Canon Gore? Shall we seek light on the matter from a passage already quoted?

And are we not helped . . . by reflecting that the attributes of God, on account of the perfection of His personal unity, are not (so to speak) separable from one another or from His personality, but are identically one (p. 219)?

Is this reflection consistent with the belief that Our Lord could lay aside His divine nature? But then, is it not equally inconsistent with the belief that He could lay aside His divine consciousness? But, really, is it inconsistent with one belief or the other? We must not forget that momentous "so to speak."

Canon Gore's lengthy dissertation contains three chapters. The first is entitled, "The view of Our Lord's consciousness during His human and mortal life which is presented in the New Testament." This chapter contains four sections. The first section is entitled "The Evidence of the Gospels." In this section, perhaps more than elsewhere, Canon Gore confuses the real question at issue. His contention is that Our Lord, "within the *sphere* and *period* of His incarnate and mortal life," did "cease from the exercise of those divine functions and powers, including the divine omniscience, which would have been incompatible with a truly human experience" (p. 94). Canon Gore, as we have seen, professes respect for the "logical place" of things. Surely the "logical place" for the distinct enunciation of his thesis would occur before the presentation of the evidence alleged on behalf of the thesis. But Canon Gore gives us the "evidence" first and the enunciation of the thesis last. We have reason to complain of this. Had the thesis been distinctly enunciated beforehand, it would be apparent to the most careless reader that the "evidence" which Canon Gore collects from the Gospels is beside the point. Let us go through "The Evidence of the Gospels."

Canon Gore infers from the Gospel narrative that, in His early years, Our Lord "was taught as the young are taught" (p. 77). Granted; but what is this to the purpose? He admits that Our Lord possessed, even as a child, a "consciousness of His unique sonship . . . but," he continues, "that consciousness of a divine sonship did not, we are led to suppose, interfere with His properly human growth" (p. 78). Confusion again. What has this to do with the thesis? On the following page Canon Gore admits that it is not possible for any one who accepts, even generally, the historical character of the Synoptic Gospels and of St. John's to doubt that the "pre-eminent dignity of the person of Jesus . . . carried with it throughout Our Lord's ministerial life a consciousness

of properly divine sonship." Now for the adversative and the confusion again. "But this consciousness of divine sonship is represented as co-existing with a really human development of life" (p. 79). What has this to do with the thesis? "It is surely beyond question," says Canon Gore, "that Our Lord is represented in the Gospels as an infallible no less than a sinless teacher." Now for adversative and confusion. "But infallibility is not omniscience" (p. 80). What is this to the point? And how could Our Lord in human words give expression to omniscience? How could human minds receive omniscience when expressed? "Our Lord frequently exhibits a supernatural knowledge, insight, and foresight." Now for adversative and confusion. "But all such supernatural illumination is, if of higher quality, yet analogous to that vouchsafed to Prophets and Apostles" (p. 81). Clearly this has no bearing on the thesis of our author; unless, indeed, Canon Gore would have us infer from Our Lord's omitting to do what is impossible to God, *i.e.*, the expressing of omniscience in human words and the conveying of omniscience to human minds, that Our Lord was not omniscient.

Canon Gore next groups together under four heads the "evidence" for the limitations of Our Lord's knowledge. (1) Our Lord "expresses surprise on many occasions, and, therefore, we must believe, really felt it; and on other occasions He asks for information and receives it" (p. 81). And some of the questions asked by Our Lord "represent a natural need of information" (p. 82). Supposing that we granted all this instead of denying it, what help does it give to Canon Gore's thesis? What more need it prove than ignorance on the part of Our Lord's human nature? Though we deny that it proves as much as that. (2) Our Lord

expressly declared, as St. Matthew as well as St. Mark assures us, that of the day and hour of His second coming no one knew except the Father, "not even the angels of Heaven, neither the Son"; and we cannot hold this declaration apart from the other indications that are given us of a limited human consciousness (pp. 83, 84)

We are so pleased at getting something like an argument from Canon Gore, at last, that we are tempted to leave unnoticed the confusion of the phrase, "limited *human* consciousness."

Now let us examine the argument and see what support it gives to Canon Gore. In a footnote upon the text just referred to Canon Gore says :

It has been suggested that ignorance is here predicted (?) predicated) of "the Son," used absolutely, not of the incarnate Son in the period of His humiliation merely. This seems to me a greatly overstrained argument. The Son was speaking of Himself as He then was" (p. 84).

Canon Gore rejects, then, the interpretation which predicates ignorance of the Son, considered absolutely. In other words, he rejects the Arian interpretation. He does not, indeed, reject it with as much earnestness as we should like. "*This seems to me a greatly overstrained argument*" is a somewhat airy way of setting aside an interpretation which is professedly inconsistent with belief in the Trinity. Still, he does reject it. He admits, then, that the words "neither the Son" are to be interpreted with a qualification. Why then does he not interpret with one of the qualifications recognised by the Church? Canon Gore complains that the bulk of ecclesiastical writers "have at best but taken particular texts and explained them in the light of an *d priori* assumption as to the effect of the Godhead on the manhood" (p. 202). Surely Canon Gore is here explaining a text in the light of an *d priori* assumption as to the effect of the manhood on the Godhead. He is qualifying the clause "neither the Son" so as to suit it to his own peculiar Kenotic theory. Let him do one or other of three things. Let him interpret absolutely with the Arians, or qualify with the universal Church; or, if he is determined to qualify for himself, let him give some reason for his peculiar qualification; some shred or jot or tittle of argument to vindicate it. He does none of these things.

3. Canon Gore finds additional "arguments" for his theory in the Gospel of St. John. "Unmistakably is Our Lord there put before us as the eternal Son of the Father incarnate." Now for adversative and confusion. "But it also appears that the Son of the Father is living and teaching under restrained human conditions" (p. 85). Of course our Lord was teaching under human conditions. How could men otherwise be taught? But what has this to do with the thesis?

Thus He "speaks the words of God" indeed infallibly, but it is, as

St. John tells us, because God "giveth not the spirit by measure," that is, because of the complete endowment of His manhood (p. 85).

In a footnote Canon Gore remarks :

What the exact content of the full human endowment would have been we cannot say *a priori*. But it was a human endowment, an endowment of our Lord as man, and suggests therefore properly human limitations.

In this remarkable note Canon Gore informs us that a human endowment is a human endowment, and having committed himself to this statement he relapses into confusion again. What have the human endowments of our Lord, the endowments of our Lord as man, to do with the thesis of Canon Gore?

(4) Now comes the Achilles of Canon Gore's arguments :

Lastly, there is an argument from silence coincident with these indications. Our Lord exhibits insight and foresight of prophetic quality. He exhibits towards all facts of physical nature the receptivity of a perfect sonship [*sic*], so that, for example, the laws of natural waste and growth are pointed out by Him with consummate accuracy in the parable of the sower. But He never enlarges our stock of natural knowledge, physical or historical, out of the divine omniscience (p. 87).

Our Lord never enlarges our stock of natural knowledge, physical or historical. *Ergo*, He is not omniscient. Q. E. D. Was there ever reasoning so futile as this?

In the next section, Canon Gore betakes himself for "evidence" to St. Paul :

In a passage of the Epistle to the Philippians, he (St. Paul) is holding up our Lord in His Incarnation as an example of humility, and this leads him to give, as we may say, a certain theory of it. He describes it as a self-emptying. Christ Jesus pre-existed, he declares, in the form of God. The word "form" transferred from physical shape to spiritual type describes—as St. Paul uses it, alone or in composition, with uniform accuracy—the permanent characteristics of a thing. . . . By an act of deliberate self-abnegation, He so emptied Himself as to assume the permanent characteristics of the human or servile life. He took the form of a servant (p. 89).

Very well stated. The full extent, then, of the self-emptying, "He so emptied Himself," lay in this, that Our Lord assumed the finite.

Not only so, but He was made in outward appearance like other men, and was found in fashion as a man ; that is, in the transitory quality of our manhood. The "form," the "likeness," the "fashion" of manhood, He took them all.

Precisely ; but how does this help the thesis ?

Canon Gore quotes another passage from St. Paul : "Ye know the grace of Our Lord Jesus Christ, that, though He was rich, yet for your sakes He beggared Himself, that ye through His poverty might become rich."

This is how St. Paul [says Canon Gore] interprets our Lord's coming down from Heaven, and it is manifest that it expresses something very much more than the mere addition of a manhood to the Godhead. In a certain sense, indeed, the Incarnation is the folding round the Godhead of the veil of the humanity—to hide its glory, but it is much more than this. It is a ceasing to exercise, at least in a certain sphere, and so far as human thought can attain, some natural prerogatives of the divine existence ; it is a coming to exist for love of us under conditions of being not natural to Godhead (p. 90).

On this interpretation of Canon Gore we remark : (1) The words "He beggared Himself" are evidently identical in sense with the words "He emptied Himself" of the former quotation. Now if the "self-emptying" lay, according to the explanation given by Canon Gore himself, perhaps in spite of himself, in the assumption of the finite, "He so emptied Himself as to assume the permanent characteristics of the human or servile life ;" why should the self-beggary consist in the ceasing to exercise "some natural prerogatives of the divine existence ?" (2) There is nothing in St. Paul's words to indicate that any one set of the "natural prerogatives of the divine existence," rather than another, ceased from exercise. (3) If the "self-beggary" indicates the cessation of exercise on the part of any of the "natural prerogatives of the divine existence," it equally, and still more clearly, indicates the cessation of exercise on the part of all. (4) The words "so far as human thought can attain," do not explain their relation to their context, and are not in the least justified by the text under citation. (5) The words "It is a coming to exist for love of us under conditions of being not natural to Godhead," which are the climax of Canon Gore's interpretation, throw us back into confusion again.

In the third section Canon Gore maintains that an absolute κένωσις is not affirmed in the New Testament. He states that the language which St. Paul uses of the Son in relation to the universe as its creator and immanent principle of life and order, "in whom all things consist," is such "as to make it almost impossible to imagine that St. Paul conceived it to be interrupted by the Incarnation" (p. 92). Canon Gore then finds himself constrained to admit that the Son's relationship to the world, even during the period of the Incarnation, involved the fulfilment of functions which could not be exercised without the aid of omniscience. He would seem to resent being forced into this view. He would almost seem to suggest that if the Apostle had given more thought to the matter he might have expressed himself differently. "How much," he says,

St. Paul reflected upon the relation of the "self-emptying" of the Son, which he postulates in other epistles, to the permanent and cosmic function we cannot say (p. 92).

Surely this is a delightful touch. But we must take St. Paul's words as they stand, and thus

we must suppose that in some manner the humiliation and the self-limitation of the incarnate state was compatible with the continued exercise of divine and cosmic functions in another sphere" (p. 93).

In the next section, Canon Gore states his "provisional conclusion." The substance of this is that "within the *sphere* and *period* of His incarnate and mortal life" Our Lord ceased "from the exercise of those divine functions and powers, including the divine omniscience, which would have been incompatible with a truly human experience" (p. 94). This provisional conclusion, Canon Gore informs us, may be further defined by contrasting it with other well-known views.

It is opposed, then, on the one side, to the view which I must call the *a priori* dogmatical and unhistorical view that Christ's human mind was, from the first moment of the Incarnation, flooded with complete knowledge and with the glory of the beatific vision; . . . it is opposed, on the other, to the *a priori* humanitarian and also unhistorical view that the Son in becoming man ceased to be conscious of His own eternal sonship, and became not merely a human but a fallible and peccable teacher (pp. 95, 96).

What Canon Gore calls a "further definition" is nothing more than a repetition of confusion. Canon Gore's thesis is not that "Christ's human mind" was wanting in "complete knowledge" and without "the glory of the beatific vision," but that "within the *sphere* and *period* of His incarnate and mortal life" Our Lord ceased "from the exercise of those divine functions and powers, including the divine omniscience, which would have been incompatible with a truly human experience." What has this to do with "Christ's human mind?" When shall we escape from this hopeless confusion?

We pass on now to the second chapter of Canon Gore's dissertation. This chapter, which is represented by Canon Gore as exhibiting the "teaching of the Church on the subject," contains a very exhaustive refutation of Canon Gore's theory. Father after Father is quoted by Canon Gore, but each Father, as he appears, gives witness against him. Canon Gore is aware of this. "The great bulk of the language of ecclesiastical writers," he says, "is, it is true, against us" (p. 202). "In the special subject of this inquiry we do not see them (the Fathers) at their best" (p. 214).

The first quotation that appears in this chapter is taken from Cassian and runs as follows:

Hoc enim quod ex carne atque in carne venit, ortus ejus fuit, non imminutio; et natus tantum est non demutatus; quia licet in forma Dei manens formam servi assumpserit, infirmitas tamen habitus humani non infirmavit naturam Dei.

"This passage from Cassian (*de Incarn.* vi. 19) may stand," says Canon Gore,

as an example of innumerable others from all periods of Christian theology. The Christian consciousness has, as a fact, from its beginning down to the Reformation, and for the most part since then, found it an inconceivable supposition that the cosmic functions of the Son, and His divine functions—such as His share in the eternal procession of the Holy Ghost—should be interrupted by the Incarnation (p. 98).

Here is another instance of Canon Gore's extraordinary confusion of mind. What is there in the quotation from Cassian that bears in any special way upon the "cosmic functions" and the "divine functions" of Our Lord? Cassian speaks *absolutely*:

*ortus . . . non imminutio; natus tantum . . . non demutatus . . .
licet in forma Dei manens formam servi assumpserit, infirmitas tamen
habitus humani non infirmavit naturam Dei.*

And this declaration of his, which, as Canon Gore rightly says, "may stand as an example of innumerable others from all periods of Christian theology," is a flat contradiction of Mr. Gore's thesis.

Of the writers that flourished from the beginning of Christianity down to the period of "mediæval and scholastic theology," Canon Gore quotes, in addition to Cassian, to mention them in the order chosen, for purposes of classification, by Canon Gore, St. Irenæus, Origen, Eusebius, St. Athanasius, Proclus of Cyzicus, St. Clement of Alexandria, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Basil, St. Ambrose, Ephraim Syrus, Didymus of Alexandria, St. Chrysostom, Theodoret, St. Hilary, St. Jerome, St. Augustine, St. Gregory of Nyssa, St. Cyril of Alexandria, Eulogius of Alexandria, Leontius of Byzantium, Pope Gregory the Great, St. John Damascene, Agobard of Lyons. Of all these writers the only ones which Canon Gore ventures to claim as supporters of his opinion are Irenæus and Origen, and apparently also, though this would argue fresh confusion on his part, Theodoret and Leontius of Byzantium. Not only are all the remaining writers in the completest antagonism to him, but, moreover, most if not all of them refuse to admit that ignorance can be ascribed to the *human* nature of Our Lord.

Let us examine now the writers whom Canon Gore claims in his support. And let us take first Theodoret and Leontius. "Anti-Arian theology," says Canon Gore,

shows a rapid tendency to withdraw the admission of a human ignorance. . . . The tendency to explain away Our Lord's express words, which those theologians exhibit who are responsible for this withdrawal, meets in the East with at least one vigorous protest from Theodoret. In a phrase which commends itself to modern consciences he wrote, "If He knew the day and, wishing to conceal it, said He was ignorant, see what blasphemy is the result of this conclusion. Truth tells a lie" (pp. 130, 131).

In a note upon this passage of Theodoret, Canon Gore says :

The passage is an argument for the distinct reality of Our Lord's manhood from the phrases in the Gospels which attribute to Him prayer,

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ignorance, and the sense of being deserted by God. Such expressions cannot be attributed to the Word, Theodoret argues, but to the manhood which the Word assumed (p. 131).

"But," continues Canon Gore,

the protest fell flat. Neither the interest in accurate exegesis, nor the enthusiasm for truth to fact as distinct from truth which is edifying, was adequate to sustain it (p. 132).

We remark on this: (1) So far as Canon Gore is claiming Theodoret as a supporter, to that extent he is guilty of confusion again. Theodoret does indeed assert that there was ignorance on the part of the human nature which the Word assumed. But he distinctly and expressly denies that there could be any ignorance on the part of the Word which assumed the human nature; and in this he is in antagonism with Canon Gore. (2) Canon Gore informs us that "neither the interest in accurate exegesis, nor enthusiasm for truth to fact as distinct from truth which is edifying," availed to win support for this theory of Theodoret. Since, then, Theodoret's opinion is contradictory to Canon Gore's, it follows, by Canon Gore's own confession, that Canon Gore's theory is contradicted by that "accurate exegesis," and "truth to fact," which he declares to be on the side of Theodoret's theory.

"But the protest fell flat," says Canon Gore, sadly. The Fathers would not admit ignorance of Our Lord even on the side of His human nature, for which alone Theodoret contended.

"The protest of Theodoret is reheard," says Canon Gore, "in a remarkable phrase of a writer reckoned as Leontius of Byzantium." Let us turn then to Leontius of Byzantium, as he appears in Canon Gore's pages. Leontius, according to Canon Gore, was a champion of the Agnoetæ. Of this sect, Canon Gore says,

Its characteristic tenet was the limitation of Our Lord's human knowledge, and its adherence to this was based upon the natural interpretation of the often-discussed passages of the Gospels, such as St. Mark xiii. 32; St. John xi. 34 (p. 153).

By "Our Lord's human knowledge" Canon Gore means the knowledge Our Lord possessed as man, the knowledge possessed by the human nature of Christ. Canon Gore is at great pains

to make this clear, and, amongst other proofs of this, he quotes Leontius as saying

Now the Agnoetæ believe just as the Theodosians, with this difference, that the Theodosians deny that the humanity of Christ was ignorant, and the Agnoetæ affirm it (p. 157).

The characteristic tenet of the Agnoetæ was then, according to Canon Gore, the limitation of knowledge on the part of the human nature of Christ. Leontius then gives no support to Canon Gore. In the next place, this characteristic tenet of the Agnoetæ is declared by Canon Gore to be "based upon the natural interpretation" of St. Mark xiii. 32, viz., "But of that day or hour no man knoweth, neither the angels in heaven, nor the Son, but the Father." Here then, as in the case of his comments on Theodoret, we find Canon Gore contradicting himself and refuting his own interpretation. If the *natural* interpretation of St. Mark xiii. 32 be that Our Lord was limited in knowledge as to His human nature only, clearly the interpretation given by Canon Gore, viz., that Our Lord

within the *sphere* and *period* of His incarnate and mortal life ceased from the exercise of those divine functions and powers, including the divine omniscience, which would have been incompatible with a truly human experience

is an unnatural interpretation ; as, indeed, on the face of it, it is.

And what was the attitude of the Church towards the Agnoetæ ? Let Canon Gore himself answer the question.

The Agnoetæ certainly formed a sect of their own, and were reckoned as heretics, with the special characteristic of affirming the limitation of knowledge in Christ.

If the Church in those days regarded the opinion of the Agnoetæ as heretical, how would it have regarded the opinion of Canon Gore ? Precisely as the Church in these days regards it now.

The "protest" of Theodoret, as we remember, "fell flat." The "protest" of Leontius had no better success. "Like Theodoret's in earlier days, the protest of Leontius against explaining away Our Lord's words is isolated" (p. 160). If history

shows any thing like a tendency to repeat itself, the "protest" now made by Canon Gore will be still more isolated.

Now we turn to Irenæus.

In *Adversus* [says Canon Gore] that this human struggle may be believed to have been real, St. Irenæus postulates a *quiescence* of the divine word "while He was tempted and dishonoured and crucified and slain," as on the other hand, its co-operation with the man (or manhood) in "His victory and endurance, and goodness and resurrection, and ascension." Irenæus thus emphasises the reality of Our Lord's human experiences. And in accordance with this the reality of Our Lord's human ignorance (p. 110).

Irenæus, as quoted here by Canon Gore, says not a word about Our Lord's human ignorance. And if he did how would that help Canon Gore? Of course Our Lord's human experiences were real. But what is that to the purpose? As to the *quiescence* of the Word "while He was tempted and dishonoured and crucified and slain," of which St. Irenæus speaks, what is this but a paraphrase of St. John x. 18: "No man taketh it (my life) away from me, but I lay it down of myself?"

"Then," says Canon Gore, "he (Irenæus) rebukes the would-be omniscience of the Gnostics."

Unreasonably puffed up, you audaciously declare that you know the unutterable mysteries of God; unreasonably—seeing that even the Lord, the very Son of God, allowed that the Father alone knew the actual day and hour of judgment, saying plainly of *that day and hour knoweth no man, neither the Son, except the Father only*. If therefore the Son did not blush to refer to the Father the knowledge of that day, but said what was true; neither let us blush to reserve to God those points in inquiries which are too high for us. For no one is above his master.... For if any one ask the reason why the Father, though in all things holding communion with the Son, was declared by the Lord alone to know the day and hour, He could not at present find one more suitable, or proper, or less perilous than this (for Our Lord is the only true master)—that we may learn through Him that the Father is over all. For the Father, He says, is greater than I. And that even in respect of knowledge the Father is put over (the Son) is announced to us by Our Lord, in order that we too, so long as we belong to the fashion of this world, may leave to God perfect knowledge and such investigations (as the Gnostics were presuming to undertake) (p. 111).

We add Canon Gore's remarks on this passage.

It might appear as if St. Irenæus attributed this ignorance to the Son

simply as Son ; but the phrase "so long as we belong to the fashion of this world," and a previous expression, "while we are still in this world," show that he was thinking of human ignorance generally, and therefore of Our Lord's ignorance as belonging simply to that mortal state which He assumed in assuming humanity.

If Canon Gore's inference had been "and therefore of the ignorance of Our Lord's human nature," the inference would have been less startling from a logical, as well as a theological, point of view. "To the *person* of the Son incarnate then," continues Canon Gore, "as He was among men, Irenæus certainly attributes limitations of knowledge" (p. 112). Canon Gore seems to be unaware that whatever is attributed to either nature in Christ must be attributed to the person of Christ. A single perusal of the Apostles' creed might have taught him this. If St. Irenæus had attributed ignorance to the human nature of Christ, of course he must have attributed ignorance to the person of Christ. But St. Irenæus, it seems to us, does not teach that even the human nature of Christ was ignorant. In any case, he does not support Canon Gore's view. What does St. Irenæus say? That the words "of that day and hour knoweth no man, neither the Son, except the Father only," were spoken by Our Lord, and what He said was true. This surely does not help Canon Gore. Every one must say what St. Irenæus has said. The question is as to the *sense* in which Our Lord spoke the words. Now, St. Irenæus certainly does not interpret the words in the sense which Canon Gore attaches to them ; for (1) he declares that "the Father was in *all* things holding communion with the Son" *when the Son spoke the words*. He excludes, then, Canon Gore's extraordinary theory as to the laying aside of omniscience by our Lord, "within the *sphere* and *period* of His incarnate and mortal life." (2) He declares that questions like these as to the last day and hour are to be reserved to God. Would Canon Gore venture to say that Irenæus held that "within the *sphere* and *period* of His incarnate and mortal life" Our Lord was not God? (3) He argues that if Our Lord referred the knowledge to the Father we too must refer the knowledge to God, "for no one is above his master." The words "no one is above his master," are an evident allusion to St. John xv. 20 : "The servant is not

greater than his master. If they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you." Now, Our Lord spoke these words of Himself as *man*. (4) He quotes the text "The Father is greater than I," and adds that the text "of that day and hour," &c., proves that even in respect of knowledge the Father was greater than the Son. Now, the text, "the Father is greater than I," is commonly interpreted with reference to the human nature of Our Lord. Of course, it is open to Canon Gore to say that he himself interprets that text differently. But the question is not now of Canon Gore's interpretation, but of the interpretation of St. Irenæus. And till we have some reason to the contrary we must presume that St. Irenæus understood the words "the Father is greater than I" in the sense which the Church has commonly attached to them. But if St. Irenæus interprets these words with reference to the human nature of Our Lord, the inference is that he similarly interprets the words "of that day and hour," &c., which he regards as a special application of the former words. The words then in question, according to St. Irenæus, were spoken by Our Lord as *man*. Does St. Irenæus then hold that the words attribute *real* ignorance to Our Lord as *man*? There is nothing in his words to force us to this view. He simply states the fact of the ignorance. But whether Our Lord was ignorant as "speaking in the person of His Church," an interpretation of Our Lord's words which is called by Origen the "more celebrated" interpretation, or whether his ignorance was real St. Irenæus does not say. Origen's "more celebrated" interpretation would have quite sufficed for St. Irenæus' argument. If the Church were declared by Our Lord to be ignorant of the day and hour, the "would-be omniscience of the Gnostics" stands rebuked. But, in any case, Canon Gore's theory finds no support in Irenæus.

Next we turn to Origen.

After noticing [says Canon Gore] that this text serves to rebuke those who pretend to know too much about the last things, Origen . . . proceeds to give two main interpretations of the text. "De die autem illa et hora nemo scit, neque angeli cœlorum, neque Filius, nisi Pater solus." (1) Some [says Origen] will have the courage to attribute this to the proper human development ascribed to Our Lord by St. Luke (ii. 52). According to this interpretation, He, too, the man Christ Jesus, must wait His time for perfect knowledge (p. 115). (2) Origen, then [says Canon

Gore] gives another interpretation, which he describes as "more celebrated than the above." It is that Christ is speaking in the person of the Church. For while the Church, which is His body, does not know that day and hour, so long neither the Son Himself is said to know it, in order that he then may be understood to know when all His members also know (pp. 116, 117).

So far Origen gives no countenance to Canon Gore. But the Canon turns with a better heart to another passage. In this fresh passage Origen is considering how the words of the prophet (Jer. i. 6) "I am a child: I cannot speak," can be applied to Christ. He replies by referring to the testimony of the Gospel. "Jesus while yet a child, before He became a man, since He had 'emptied Himself,' is seen to 'advance.'" Now, no one who is already perfect advances, for to advance implies the need of advance. Therefore He advanced in stature, in wisdom, in favour with God and man. For, because He had emptied Himself in coming down to us, therefore, having emptied Himself, He proceeded to take again that of which He had emptied Himself, such self-emptying having been a voluntary act (p. 118). The last sentence is somewhat difficult to understand. But if Origen is teaching heresy here, it is certainly not the heresy of Canon Gore. Origen says that Our Lord "advanced in this mortal life by taking again that of which He had emptied Himself." Would Canon Gore say that our Lord advanced by resuming, in this mortal life, the exercise of "those divine functions and powers, including the divine omniscience," from which He had ceased "within the sphere and period of His incarnate and mortal life," because the exercise of those functions "would have been incompatible with a truly human experience"? We are describing a contradiction of unusually-large proportions. But this contradiction Canon Gore would have to make his own before he could claim that Origen was supporting him here. But the truth is that, unless Origen is contradicting himself within the space of a very few lines, he is advocating neither the heresy of Canon Gore nor any other heresy, as is clear from the concluding words of the passage :

Subsisting in the majesty of the glory of God, He does not speak human words. He does not, as it were, know how to speak to those below. Therefore it is that when He comes into the human body, He says to the Father, "I cannot speak: I know, indeed, things too great for human

speech. But Thou wishest me to speak to men. I have not yet acquired human speech. I have Thy speech, I am Thy Word, I can speak to Thee; but I know not how to speak to men, for I am a child."

It would be difficult to imagine a more emphatic contradiction of Canon Gore's theory than is contained in these words of Origen.

Of all the ecclesiastical writers that flourished before the period of mediæval and scholastic theology, Irenæus and Origen, Theodoret and Leontius are the only ones to whom Canon Gore looks for support. And we have seen what manner of support they give him. That "the mediæval and scholastic theology" is against him scarcely needs the admission which Canon Gore makes of this fact. We pass on, then, to the section entitled "The Theology of the Reformation."

No one can interpret the Reformation rightly [says Canon Gore] on its religious side, who does not bear in mind the existence of a wide-spread and passionate desire to get back to the Christ of the Gospels and to the primitive Church (pp. 180, 181).

This "wide-spread and passionate desire" was not long in bearing fruit. The writers quoted by Canon Gore in this section are Luther, Gess, Godet, Thomasius, Delitzsch, Dr. Fairbairn, and Dorner. Let us see what fruit it bore in the case of these theologians.

"In the case of Luther," says Canon Gore, "this return to the Christ of the Gospels at once produced a belief in properly human limitations of knowledge in our Lord's manhood" (p. 181). It produced at once other beliefs, too, in the case of Luther. "His (Luther's) language," continues our author, "seems to postulate a separate personality for the human nature of Christ" (p. 181). But this Luther, who returned "to the Christ of the Gospels was, it appears, a very versatile heretic, for," continues Canon Gore, "this quasi-Nestorian tendency, however, was checked in Luther by the sacramental controversy" (p. 181). "This" (the sacramental controversy), says Canon Gore, "led to a development of thought in a Monophysite rather than a Nestorian direction, and this rival tendency, which renders Luther's Christology very difficult to understand as a whole, became dominant in the Lutheran schools' (p. 182). What was the upshot of it all? Let Canon Gore

inform us. "It resulted in the formation of a Christology based on ubiquitarianism, which Dr. A. B. Bruce, without undue severity, pronounces to be, to an amazing extent, 'artificial, unnatural, and incredible'" (p. 182). Such were the first fruits of the "wide-spread and passionate desire to get back to the Christ of the Gospel and the primitive Church," which, as we learn from Canon Gore, was the characteristic of the "Reformation."

Let us, in quest of other fruits, consult the remaining theologians quoted by Canon Gore in this section on the "Theology of the Reformation."

Gess and Godet maintain that "the eternal generation of the Son, and the procession of the Holy Spirit through the Son were suspended from the time of the Incarnation to that of the glorification of Christ" (p. 188). Gess "further maintains that the Word, thus depotentiated, took the place of the human soul in Jesus, as actually having become a human soul" (p. 188). What is Canon Gore's attitude towards these views? He declares himself unable to accept them. But he does not very strongly reject them. "I hope," he says, "in what was said in the first part of this essay, I have saved myself from the imputation of underrating the large element of truth there is in such views as these" (p. 188). Canon Gore certainly has saved himself from that imputation. We remember his appearing to resent that passage of St. Paul which is incompatible with the theory of an absolute *κένωσις*. We remember his appearing to suggest that if St. Paul had given more thought to the matter he might have expressed himself differently. And now that Canon Gore returns to the subject, he commences to doubt whether the doctrine of Gess and Godet *really* is incompatible with the teaching of St. Paul. At least he declares the incompatibility in very subdued tones. "There is reason to believe" (the italics are ours), says Canon Gore, "that the Apostolic writers contemplated the continuance of the divine and cosmic functions through the Incarnation" (p. 206).

The next theory described by Canon Gore in his "Theology of the Reformation" section is that maintained by Thomasius, Delitzsch, and Dr. Fairbairn. This theory, as much as that of Godet, "postulates that Christ did absolutely abandon His relation of equality with God and His functions in the

universe" (p. 192). Then comes the theory of "the double life of the Word . . . which is expressed most formally by the Danish Bishop Martensen." Suffice it to say of this view that Canon Gore practically identifies it with his own (p. 215), while Canon Bright ("Waymarks in Church History," p. 389), identifies it with that of Godet. Finally comes Dorner's which Canon Gore "fears" is "a little too pronounced—too Nestorian in sound."

Such then is the "Theology of the Reformation," and such are the fruits of the "wide-spread and passionate desire to get back to the Christ of the Gospel and the primitive Church," which was the characteristic, as we learn from Canon Gore, of the "Reformation."

In the third and last chapter, Canon Gore discusses the relation of his theory to Church authority and its rationality. We have seen what was the attitude of the Fathers towards our author's theory. But the Fathers do not count for much when opposed to Canon Gore. Their theology is "defective" on these occasions; "we do not see them at their best." It is to the Ecumenical Councils that Canon Gore makes his appeal, not indeed for support—his modesty forbids this—but to argue that their dogmatic decisions are not inconsistent with his theory. In short, he is on his defence. Let us hear his defence. "The decree of Nicaea," says Canon Gore, "asserts the Son consubstantial and co-equal with the Father; it goes on by way of appendix to deny Him to be changeable or alterable" (p. 208). Our author inquires if this decree can be reconciled with his own theory, and decides that it can. First, as to the *unchangeableness* of the Son, defined by Nicaea. "The council had in view," says Canon Gore, "only *moral* alterability." Suppose that we granted this to Canon Gore: he still has to reconcile his theory with the *absolute unchangeableness* of the Son, defined by Chalcedon.

The Nicene anathema indeed [says Dr. Bright] was aimed principally at the notion that the Son of God could ever have been morally changeable; but the Apollinarian controversy sharpened the Church's protest against any alterableness in Deity; any conversion or mutation of God-head . . . and so the Council of Chalcedon, while defining the union of two natures in the Lord's one person as existing "without confusion" and "without severance," does not omit to say also "without change."

Such [continues Dr. Bright] is the mind of the ancient Church, and such also is the mind of typical Anglican theologians ("Waymarks in Church History," pp. 387, 388).

Canon Gore anticipated that the definition of Chalcedon would be urged against him. Forewarned, he is forearmed. Let us look at his defensive armour. "Even in regard to metaphysical alteration," he says, "it must be remembered that in the view here presented the limitation of which the Incarnate Son is the subject is regarded (1) as not effecting His essential being or operation in the universe"—which seems to us tantamount to pleading that his theory is not a complete but only a partial contradiction of Chalcedon—and "(2) As not imposed from without, but an act of His own power" (p. 208). Point number two does not mend matters. It is just as much opposed to Chalcedon as point number one.

Next as to the *consubstantiality* decreed by Nicaea.

Nor should it be left out of sight [says Canon Gore] that so far as the self-limitation of the Son, even within a certain sphere of operation, may be supposed to affect His essential consubstantiality with the Father, it is relative to that no less mysterious but also no less real act of self-denial on the part of the Father which the New Testament describes as His "giving up" or "giving" the Son. There is reciprocal self-sacrifice postulated alike in the Father and the Son (pp. 209, 210).

The substance of this ingenious argument seems to be that since the "self-limitation" of the Son was met by a "no less real act of self-denial on the part of the Father," the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father, which might otherwise have been lost, was maintained. The "giving up" on the one side balanced the "giving up" on the other side. By an equal surrender equality was preserved. Comment here is unnecessary.

Canon Gore also quotes the definition of the Sixth Council :

We glorify in Our Lord Jesus Christ, one true God, two natural energies indissolubly, unalterably, unconfusedly, that is the divine energy and the human energy; as Leo the theologian most clearly says, "either form energises in fellowship with the other as is proper to itself, the Word working what belongs to the Word, and the body accomplishing what belongs to the body" (p. 211).

To ordinary minds it might possibly seem that this definition is not in all respects and from every point of view consistent with the theory that Our Lord "within the *sphere* and *period* of His incarnate and mortal life" ceased "from the exercise of those divine functions and powers, including the divine omniscience, which would have been incompatible with a truly human experience." But if it does seem so to ordinary minds, so much the worse for ordinary minds. Between definition and theory there is perfect consistency. We have Canon Gore's word for it. He does not argue the point. It is too obvious to call for argument. He simply states it: "Such decisions are in no way dissonant with a view which," &c. (p. 211). Comment is equally unnecessary here.

Canon Gore next proceeds to show "the rationality of our conclusion." He brings four proofs. First proof: "Nothing that is a fact can be irrational, but many things that are facts are beyond the power of *human conception*" (p. 216). Nothing that is a fact can be irrational. But my theory represents a fact. *Ergo*. Canon Gore's first proof of the rationality of his theory is then his assumption of its truth. Second proof: When we would sympathise with those of education inferior to our own, in order to enter more fully into their feelings we try to lay aside for the time our superior culture. Since, then, we have no better guide to the methods of God than the best human sympathy and love, it is reasonable to suppose that when God made His sympathetic entry into human life, He abandoned within the human sphere His own divine point of view and mode of consciousness (p. 219). To an ordinary mind it might seem that superior culture would enable one to appreciate more keenly the misery of others. But this apart. Is it possible, we ask Canon Gore, for Our Lord to sympathise with us now when He has resumed, as Canon Gore would say, His divine mode of consciousness? And what of the wondrous sympathy which preceded and prompted the Incarnation? Third proof: The divine and the human modes of knowing cannot have co-existed in the same person, because they are mutually exclusive.

Let us but ponder a little while [says Canon Gore] on the infinite gulf which lies . . . between the knowledge of God and that of man, and we shall see how almost mutually exclusive the divine and human modes of knowing must be (p. 221).

Reasoning analogous to this gave rise to Nestorianism on the one hand, and Monophysitism on the other. Fourth proof: It is a question whether God is all-knowing with respect to man even when considered as God absolutely. Much more then is there a question as to the omniscience of God Incarnate.

The accurate examination of the meaning assigned to divine "fore-knowledge" in the Bible [says Canon Gore] tends to shake the traditional belief that God is there revealed as absolutely knowing beforehand how each individual will act (p. 224).

Canon Gore evidently thinks that he has said something startling, and here we are quite able to agree with him, for he goes on to say :

Nevertheless, it is at least as difficult to reject this belief as to admit it. But [he continues] whatever be our relation to it, at least we must admit that the method of God in history, like the method of God in nature, is to an astonishing degree self-restraining, gradual, we are almost driven to say, tentative. And all this line of thought, all this way of conceiving God's self-restraining power and wisdom, at least prepares our minds for—

Canon Gore's theory.

W. GILDEA, D.D.

ART. VII.—THE PLACE OF THE HOLY TRINITY IN THE DIVINA COMMEDIA.

AN examination of the influence of Catholicism on the Fine Arts has led to some curious and many rich results. Perhaps its more subtle impress is discernible in that most sensitive of arts, Poetry, in which the unveiling of its workings has been by no means complete. There, its penetration cannot be escaped even by her enemies, its elevating power is accepted by strangers to her; while her sons seize it as an aim and a means beyond the reach of profane inspiration.

By reason of its being at once so complex and so individual, the great flower and crown of the Middle Ages offers the most profound study in its effects. The marked revival of interest in mediævalism, in part arising from, in part a sequence to, the renewed study of Dante, characteristic of the close of the eighteenth and the continuance of this century, gives point to its selection. In Germany this revival and renewal was led by the Schegels, Tieck, Werner, and Novalis, while even Goethe, though unsympathetic, betrayed the influence of the great Florentine in the second part of *Faust*, the movement culminating in Witte and Hettinger. In France Rivarol was the pioneer, whence the impress showed, but less visibly, in Chateaubriand and Lamartine, to gain brilliancy in Hugo, Barbier, Gressier, Barrès, and, last but not least, in Ozanam. But whilst this influence was, in Germany, less marked in painting than in letters—Cornelius worthily upholding the sister art—in France painting vied with literature in homage to Dante. Scheffer, Ingres, Delacroix, were steeped to the lips in him. In America letters drew their inspiration from Dante in Longfellow, Parsons, Lowell, and Norton. Yet it is from England, possibly, the greatest glory has been shed upon the exile. The well of English poetry, Chaucer and Spenser, is impregnated with Dante feeling, percolating through Wyatt and Surrey, Lyndesay's "Dreme" and Sackville's "Induction," till its depth, in Milton, was richly tinted with Dante imagery. Then, after a quiescence, it

divided into two streams, in poetry through Coleridge and Byron, reaching the double flower of poetry and painting in Rossetti; in prose through Dr. Carlyle, Butler, Church, Moore, and the Vernons. In design Reynolds, Flaxman, Blake, and Watts were strongly impressed by him.

When we recall that Boccaccio gave ten years to his exposition of the Comedy, that only after a ninth reading did Schlosser fully grasp the poem, and that Ozanam devoted four years of close study to the Purgatorio alone, it will be felt we can but touch the outlines of Dante's thought. And in approaching its study it is essential we withdraw our minds from the present position of religious thought in England, and enter in the air Dante breathes: the spirit of the Middle Ages. In him lies the quintessence of mediæval thought. Either we clothe ourselves with the mantle of mediævalism and so abide with the guests having on wedding garments, or adhering to modern intellectual vesture remain externs to his banquet. Thomas Carlyle has seized the point with his usual insight: "The Comedy is of Dante's writing, yet in truth it belongs to ten Christian centuries, only the finishing of it is Dante's He is the spokesman of the Middle Ages; the thought they lived by stands here in everlasting music the fruit of the Christian meditation of all the good men who had gone before him." And Milman, "Christendom owes to Dante the creation of Italian poetry, and through Italian, of Christian poetry." Comte "looked on the daily reading of a canto of the Comedy, and a chapter of the Imitation, as an almost essential element in the spiritual self-culture of the religion of humanity."

But the thought by which they lived in the Middle Ages was Catholic thought, their Christian meditation was Catholic. Is that to be found in one who in 1842 was claimed by Hengstenberg as the precursor of Lutheranism; who in 1865 was crowned at Florence a herald of Free Thought and the Revolution; whom Foscolo and the elder Rossetti strove to prove a determined enemy, not only of the Papacy, but of Catholicism; one whom Aroux boldly hailed as a heretic? A writer, indeed, who so misconceived certain acts of the Church's rulers as to bury, less in sorrow than in anger, three of her heads in hell, one of whom was afterwards canonised?

A writer whose most important historico-political work has been put on the Index?

Undoubtedly a superficial view of the Comedy would present the Inferno as inspired by the politics, the Purgatorio by the art, the Paradiso by the theology of a statesman, a poet and a Christian philosopher. But it has a unity more subtle, a harmony more profound, in which the belief of silent centuries found a voice. Its Inferno is the mirror of a teaching, its Purgatorio the scheme of a belief, its Paradiso the realisation of a faith, the whole an unity, found nowhere beyond the limits of Catholicism. For a Christianity to which the one idea is repugnant, the second a scandal, and in which the third only remains, the paean of redemption could never have been sung. And more. Abbot Joachim having revived the Tritheistic idea in the West, Innocent, by the fourth Council of Lateran, had, in condemning that error, placed the doctrine of the Trinity in a full and permanent light, the nature of the unity in essence between the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost being clearly defined, with the distinction of the persons and identity of each with the one individual essence of God, and the Incarnation as the work of the whole Trinity in common. This faith was in the air in Dante's youth. That its teaching acted on, and was accepted by, Dante's mind, is revealed to us in the Commedia. Its realisation is of the essence of that work. Thus it becomes not only a song of redemption, but of redemption through the co-operation of the Holy Trinity. A vision of the action of the Godhead upon the human soul, as evinced by His justice and His love, symbolised by (in Hell) drawing it from its rebellion, through gradations of renunciation (in Purgatory), into the white light of His illimitable love in the mystic Rose (of Paradise). And as in sinning against God we sin against the Trinity, so in the fulfilment of the redemption is reflected each of the Divine Persons. This reflection lies in the threefold division of this subject, corresponding to the three kingdoms of Nature, Grace and Glory, and, in the concrete, to Man Sinful—the Inferno; Man Repentant—the Purgatorio; and Man Triumphant—the Paradiso. But Dante's epitaph lays stress on his being a theologian, "Master of Dogmatic Lore" (as Raphaël drew him in the Vatican frescoes,

which, in truth, does not prove much, as he put Virgil there also). Hence the basis of this superstructure is naturally a trinity of theological virtues, Faith, Hope, and Charity. Faith, in the Father through His justice, proved by the very existence of Hell : Hope, in the Son, who Himself directly taught it us, and which is the abiding joy of Purgatory ; and Charity, which is Love, the gift of the Holy Spirit, perfected in Paradise. Now Dante's idea is a complete system, which governs and sanctifies every sphere of human action, which engages and works through the whole soul of man, by its trinity of powers, memory, will, and understanding, those divine parts which, he teaches, she takes with her after death. It is the faculty of memory, and with it reason, which in his fallen nature, is impressed and directed by the Inferno. It is the will, freed by grace, and so inclining heavenward, that acts in the Purgatorio. And it is the understanding which, illumined in glory, gives itself up in adoration of the Godhead in the Paradiso. Yet, as the three Persons of the Holy Trinity are an unity of Divine Nature, as the three powers of the soul form one human nature (Plato taught the existence of three souls, the Manicheans of two ; but Dante, following the Church, teaches that man is not body only, nor soul alone, but one body and one soul in harmony) ; and as the three virtues form one aim and one belief, so the three canticles of the Commedia form one complete song of redemption. Complete Dante wishes it understood ; because, though each of the three canticles consists of thirty-three cantos (without the introductory one), they, with it, sum up to one hundred ; that is, ten times ten, perfect completeness, ten being the symbol of completeness. Thus the poem leaves us where only absolute completeness can be found, where the Trinity is one in the Godhead.

Dante, therefore, following St. Augustine and St. Thomas, recognises in every creature the impress of, a likeness to, the Trinity. And we study in the Commedia, as a whole, those cords of attraction with which each Divine Person draws the soul to itself. In the Inferno the relation is more directly to the first Divine person ; the action of God the Creator, the Legislator, on the creature. Man and sin are coincident terms; sin the loss of man's perfect good. To save him from this loss,

his Creator, by punishment through His love, strives to preserve him, checking his sin, and turning him to nobler ways; for the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom. But this can only follow if the creation of hell be conceived of as an act of justice and of love. That this is Dante's idea must be fully grasped, as it is the basis and justification of his position. He is very express in showing it to be the work of, not one, but all the Divine Persons; for as all three co-operated in the Incarnation, all three laboured in the Redemption. Here he follows the soundest Catholic teaching, as seen in St. Augustine and St. Thomas; so closely, indeed, that in the attributes he assigns each Divine Person he uses almost the words of the Angelic Doctor.* And so perfect is hell's justice that the happiness of the saints in heaven is not disturbed by their knowledge of its pains. St. Catherine of Sienna tells us, "As the saints have united their wills entirely to the will of God, they recognise in the punishments inflicted the just judgments of God, and grieve not thereat." And St. Thomas explains how this can be.† Now it is because of our faith in God that we can realise the justice, wisdom, and love which went to the formation of hell. This is the theological virtue Dante impresses through the Inferno, a Catholic teaching with which he overshadowed even painting. Orcagna embodied this Inferno in the Church of Sta. Maria Novella, and again at Pisa, Signorelli at Orvieto, and Michelangelo in the Sistine.

Remembering that, though punishment of sin is its theme, hatred of sin—the only way of approach to God—is the object of the Inferno, we can understand why Dante made its torments so hideous, so insane, so revolting. It is a shallow criticism that looks upon this as a fault. Rather is it in the

* DANTE : Justice, the founder of my fabric moved,
To rear me was the task of power divine,
Supremest wisdom, and primæval love.

ST. THOMAS : "Power has the nature of a beginning, whence it is compared to the Heavenly Father, who is the beginning of the whole divinity. But wisdom is like to the Heavenly Son, inasmuch as He is the word, which is nothing else than the conception of wisdom. Goodness, being the nature and object of love, is compared to the Divine Spirit, who is love."

† "A thing can be a joy in two ways. For itself, as when one rejoices in the thing, *per se*, as such; in this way the saints do not rejoice in the sufferings of the wicked. Indirectly (*per accidens*) on account of something else joined to it. Thus the saints rejoice in the sufferings of the wicked, considering in them the order of divine justice."

highest sense beautiful. The finer our ideal of God and His sanctity, the more hideous, insane, revolting, must sin appear. This is the only true light in which to examine it; the keenest means of exciting abhorrence of it. The faculty of the soul Dante exercises in the Inferno, therefore, is memory with its light, reason. Now in Dante, reason, the science of human knowledge, leads to faith; and hence he chose as its personification one in whom early Christianity, on account of a passage in his fourth eclogue, saw a prophet of our Redeemer (an interpretation, however, which St. Jerome condemns). Thus Virgil leads the poet wherever right reason can reach; when that limit is touched he resigns his charge to one who transcends reason by faith.

As man's redemption was achieved through a trinity of good, so Dante's first steps towards his are arrested by a trinity of evil, symbols of the characteristic passions of youth, manhood, and age, taken from Jeremias. And as God, in His inscrutable wisdom, deigned that man's redemption necessitated the co-operation of a woman, Dante acknowledges such necessary intervention. Though he never *names* either God's Mother or her Divine Son in the fell regions of the Inferno, as being too sacred for such a place, the indications are clear that it is Our Lady who, through St. Lucy, Dante's patron saint, extricated him from the perilous pass of his despair by the hands of Virgil. Beatrice, Divine Grace, makes use of Virgil, natural reason and human science (at the instigation of Our Lady), "not from any defect or insufficiency of its own," in the words of St. Thomas, "but from the defect of our understanding, which is easily led by the knowledge it has attained of the other sciences, through reason, to those things which are above reason." And Dante follows St. Thomas in recognising the fundamental principle that without preventing grace, symbolised by Our Lady, man can neither turn to God, put his hand to supernatural work, nor make good its effects. Here again is emphasised the theological virtue of faith, for St. Thomas lays down, "God moves the soul of man in turning it to Himself, and therefore a movement of the mind is required; but the first act by which man turns to God is faith." Very beautiful the manner in which Dante's renunciation, the leading of man back to his Creator through reason influenced by super-

natural light, aided by co-operative grace under the hand of Divine science, is then worked through—an outcome of Catholic doctrine. By contrast, recall Goethe's Faust, who, dying impenitent, is, after death, pardoned through Mary, at the prayer of Margaret. The thing is false in thought because in contradiction with the Church's doctrine of repentance, false in art because it is thus an absurdity.

Dante entered the outskirts of hell on Holy Thursday, 1300, the year, observe, of the jubilee for the remission of sins, published by Boniface VIII., the anniversary of the day on which the great sacrament of redemption was instituted, but he reached the first circle, the actual pilgrimage there beginning, at midnight on Good Friday. At midnight, because our Saviour commenced His work of redemption by being born at midnight; on Good Friday, because on that day He completed it, as far as His physical life was concerned. And in passing from circle to circle down Hell he always turns to the left, because it was on the left of our crucified Redeemer that the world had the undying lesson of final impenitence. And as there is nothing in Dante not of distinct meaning, no inconsequential details, no mere embellishments, nothing but what has its place and value, we may note that as our Saviour expended thirty-three years in working out our redemption, each canticle exhausts thirty-three cantos in singing that theme.

In his general classification of sins Dante follows St. Thomas, grouping them as sins against God, against our neighbour, and against ourselves, of which the latter are, as a rule, of the less gravity. Despite which, however, he places suicides—sinners against themselves—in a lower depth than sinners against their neighbour. Wherein he is true to his great teacher. "In matters not subject to the dominion of the person's own will, such as natural and spiritual good," says the Angel of the Schools, "it is a more grievous sin to harm oneself than to harm another."

The propriety of the punishment assigned to various sins has been a stumbling-block to the critics. They are mostly a reflection of Catholic teaching, deeply significant. St. Thomas says the results of carnal sin are blindness of soul, inconsiderateness, precipitancy, and inconstancy, while St. Augustine witnesses "Love knows no repose." The very quintessence of the punishment Dante gives these sinners lies in these effects.

Or take the wrathful and sullen. St. John Damascene speaks of "ire" as "a kindling of the blood surrounding the heart, through the *vaporation* of the gall," and St. Thomas attributes *accidia* (sullenness) to sad and melancholy *vaporisation*. Hence does Dante inflict on these the putrid *fumes* rising in the Stygian lake in which they boil. Or again, the peculiar punishment of suicides—those who rid themselves of the life of the body as well as of that of the soul—a punishment full of profound meaning. They have to live perpetually in poisoned trees; an act of eternal reparation for their outrage on Him who died for them on the life-giving tree of the Cross. (Chaucer in two places, "The Knight's Tale" and "The Legend of Good Women," borrows from the imagery of this scene.) Indeed, a more detailed study of the punishments would reveal a striking analogy between them and the perils of St. Paul. In the five first circles of the Inferno Dante has been dealing more particularly with sins directed against the First Person of the Holy Trinity, the Creator of law, the Legislator whose rule is order. And inasmuch as incontinence is want of self-control, it strikes at the life of law and order which must be lived to fulfil the order of God's law. But now, having in view sins more against the Second Divine Person—in that heretics attempt the ruin of the Church He came to found, who came as a consuming fire into the world—we find for the first time in hell the pain of fire. The sins, too, of violence and fraud strike at Him whose birth was threatened by violence, and whose death was accomplished by fraud.

At first sight it may surprise that heretics, raveners of the sheepfold of God, are not placed deeper in hell. In this, as everywhere, Dante has followed the spirit of the Church as seen through St. Thomas. They are midway between those given up to works of the flesh and those given up to malice through either fraud or violence. For heresy develops into violence against God; and into fraud, in that it leads many astray; but its roots are in pride and sensuality. "The sects and heresies both belong to works of the flesh," says the Dominican Saint, "not indeed with regard to the act of infidelity considered in relation to its proximate object, but as regards their cause." Their punishment he takes almost word for word from St. Gregory the Great.

Passing into the fellest regions of Hell, where the pilgrims arrive on Holy Saturday evening, we find the sins striking against our neighbour, not so much individually but as representing God. These are of the deepest dye, because they proceed from abuse of the intellect, man's noblest possession. And being thus against the understanding are directed against its illuminator, the Holy Ghost, thus completing the cycle of sins which, in offending the Godhead, aim at the Blessed Trinity.

Milton beautifully conveys the immeasurable distance and speed of Lucifer's fall. In Dante the weight of guilt, rather than the force of distance and speed, rivet Satan in the chasm of the bottommost abyss of hell. Milton's Lucifer is of inflexible will, of indomitable intellectual force, of unconquerable pride, of undaunted might, eminently an exile seraph : a god at enmity with God. But Dante, so aghast at the awful crime in the revolt, so seized of the dishonour, the foulness, the repulsive ingratitudo of that *Non Serviam*, with the so terrible effects thence ensuing, made his Satan a brutal outcast, a hideous devil. Whatever he thus lose, if he do lose, in power and splendour of poetic conception, he gains in truth, in beauty, in profoundness of meaning. As in God supreme good, in Satan fellest evil ; in God sweetest love, in Satan bitterest hate ; in God highest wisdom, in Satan profoundest ignorance ; in God most radiant light, in Satan grossest darkness ; in God infinite beauty, in Satan unspeakable repulsion ; in God glow of eternal life, in Satan the cold of everlasting death. His triple face is the hellish antithesis of the Heavenly Trinity—one face red, with rage of impotence against the God of Power ; the second, black as night, with hatred of the Light of the God of Wisdom ; the third, a ghastly white, in pallid envy of the bright hued God of Love. And as a divine trinity of fidelity is the foundation of our redemption, so a hideous trinity of traitors is at the basis of our ruin. Around Satan, who betrayed his God, hang Judas who betrayed the Church in the person of its founder, and Brutus who betrayed man's commonweal.

From this point, the centre of the earth, the farthest from the light of heaven, they pass by a "hidden way"—there being no real escape from hell—through a rock-tortuous

hollow : a type of the difficulty of escape from the consequences of sin. This was on Easter Eve. The whole night of that day is occupied in this subterranean journey. They then remain actually in hell the time our Redeemer lay in the tomb.

II.

The co-operation of the Holy Trinity in the action of the Purgatorio is through the Second Divine Person, the God of Love. The fathomless darkness, the pitiless misery, the hopeless eternity of hell are gone. We enter a kingdom of grace—man repentant—where the theological virtue of hope makes beautiful and peaceful even terrible tortures, in that man's freewill conforms himself so deeply in unison with God's will as to rejoice in whatever it ordains. In the Inferno, the guilt of sin still remaining, the will ever remains malignantly in antagonism to God. In the Purgatorio the guilt is no longer there, the stain and its punishment alone stand between the soul and its God. Keenly yearning for this union, the souls eagerly accept and rejoice in the pains which wear their stains away. We contemplate sin, it is true, but sin seen in its causes rather than in its consequences, and therefore in a kingdom of comparative peace : sin as witnessed in man repentant, touched with hope, where the effects of his use of freewill steadily makes the way to, and regains, his permanent home. A kingdom indeed where all are so accustomed to unrestricted light that the mere casting of a shadow, as Dante's body often does, constantly created fear in those who saw it.

The suffering here is, in accordance with the opinion of St. Bonaventure, less intense than in hell ; its characteristic, the pain of loss, the inexhaustible yearning for God. Thus hope is the chief feature of the Purgatorio, where all the ministrant angels, consolers, defenders, encouragers of the expiating souls—of these ideals of humanity the Purgatorio is full—are clothed in vestures of “green, the symbol of hope,” in the words of the Seraphic Doctor, and the teaching of St. Thomas on this point is express. “Neither for the blessed nor for the damned is there any hope. But for those who are journeying, whether in life or in purgatory, there can be hope,

for in both cases they can take in hope as a thing possible in the future." Hence the submission, resignation, joy in God's will of these souls in purgatory, enable them to accept and cherish their pain as being in accord with, and bringing them nearer to, the divine will of God. To this end they incessantly implore Dante's prayers, and an offering of good deeds.

There is only one angel visitant in the Inferno, where Virgil finds himself impotent to enter the city of Lucifer, and an angel is sent to open it for them : Dante's conception of the light and value of faith over reason. But the Purgatorio is irradiate with them. Indeed in his love for them Dante was a very Florentine, who might have lived among the frescoes of Cimabue, Fra Angelico, and Perugini. He, in fact, gave speech to the angels of Giotto, who embodied those of the poet.*

The journey up the mountain of purgatory (a memory of his exile wanderings among the Apennines) occupied Easter Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, as its' passage could only be done by day, remembering the words of St. John. And as in the Inferno the time is always gauged by reference to the moon, here it is given by the sun. Indeed the sun is never mentioned in the former till they are about to emerge. On reaching the summit of each stairway the pilgrims always turn to the right, for it was on the right hand of our crucified Redeemer that was given the beautiful and imperishable example of repentance. And as the action of this division is achieved with special reference to our Redeemer, we find the Mount of Purification to be the exact antipodes of the Mount of Calvary ; and the first sign Dante sees in the heavens on gaining the confines of purgatory are the four stars known as the Southern Cross.† And when the angel blesses the spirits he conducts into purgatory, the poet mentions that he does so with the sign of the cross. The four stars symbolise the four cardinal virtues, Prudence, Justice, Fortitude, Temperance, which are thus seen at the rise of day as being four virtues, which in the light of reason guide life to its fulfilment. In the evening, as darkness

* He calls Beatrice the "youngest of the angels," and, thinking of her on the first anniversary of her death, "fell to drawing the resemblance of an angel," as he tells us in the "*Vita Nuova*."

† In his book on Dante, Artaud says the constellation of the Southern Cross is distinctly marked on a globe made by an Arab in Egypt about 1225.

grows, Dante sees three other stars, the theological virtues of Faith, Hope, and Charity, or those supernatural virtues which are our safeguard in the night of life, our surety in the darkness consequent on sin, the four in the daytime illustrating active life, the three at even emblems of the contemplative. Very appropriately do the soul's eyes, through Dante, rest thus early in its repentance on the four virtues which were outraged by the Fall; when ignorance supplanted prudence; malice, justice; greed, temperance; weakness, fortitude; outrages which have to be expiated before the earthly paradise can be gained: ignorance, which is the blindness of pride; malice, whose acts are anger and envy; greed, whence avarice; and weakness, from which sloth and lasciviousness. This expiation being wrought out under the influence of the God of Love, its place of endurance resolves itself into three distortions of the divine gift of love: love distorted in its object, pride, envy, wrath; love distorted by defect of vigour, sloth; and love distorted by excess, avarice, gluttony, luxury, an arrangement borrowed from the "Speculum Beatæ Virginis" of St. Bonaventure. How closely Dante here follows the Church's conception of the meaning of the Incarnation is seen in these divisions of purgatory. St. Ignatius, in his Spiritual Exercises, points out that the Incarnation offers us three lessons of Love: Christ's humility, His poverty, His suffering. Now in these divisions we find prominence given to repentance for the disorders which oppose those very virtues: pride, the mockery of humility; the lust of riches, with its dread of poverty; and attachment to pleasures of sense, with its shrinking from pain. The punishment is both active and passive. Active from the pain of sense in the actual torments undergone, passive in the pain of loss, the yearning and thirst for union with God, vivifying again into activity by the souls' unceasingly striving to practise the contrary virtue to that vice which condemned them.

The most striking feature in our Redemption by the Son of God is, after His love, His humility. Hence the shores of the Isle of Purgatory grow only reeds, emblems of humility, and with these Dante has to be girt; for God giveth his grace to the humble. And as we sin in three ways—thought, word, and deed—the gate of Purgatory is approached by three stairs;

the first of white marble, highly polished as a mirror, symbolising the examen of conscience by which man sees himself, and in a higher sense the pallor of the agony our Saviour bore when He took the conscience of the world upon himself; the second, darkly purple, rough, and split across and lengthwise, emblem of the contrition by which the soul must be broken up and bear its portion of the cross on which our Redeemer suffered; the third of flaming blood-red porphyry, that is the suffering and mortification of repentance, and the Blood He shed to make it fruitful. Up these steps Dante is led, not by Virgil, but by St. Lucy, to show that the soul cannot avail of this justifying grace until aided by prevenient grace. "In sin a man is dead as a corpse," says the Angelic Doctor, "into which the soul must be breathed anew in order to raise it to life."

But the cardinal fact in our redemption is the Incarnation, which, with the doctrine of the Trinity, finely distinguishes it from all other religions. And a cardinal fact in the Incarnation was its dependence on the consent of one of God's creatures. It is therefore not only not incongruous, but of profound intent, that the first of the engravings with which the walls of the first circle are enwrought should be that of the Annunciation.

For she was imaged there
By whom the key did open to God's love.

(Michelangelo drew upon this passage for the idea of his designs which served Venusti as the basis of his Annunciation in St. John Lateran.) Thus does the poet, eminently at one with Catholic dogma, emphasise the essential part Mary took in our Redemption. The whole Purgatorio breathes the air of her aiding presence. So completely does our Lady permeate it that among the necessarily varying examples of virtue each terrace contemplates, the first is always taken from her life. She is ever held before us as the help of Christians, the prototype of the seven virtues contrasted with the seven deadly sins—a thought taken from St. Bonaventure—and man's saving intercessor. Thus is the Mother associated with the Son, and His mediation performed in her presence as it were. It is her humility which is con-

tempted by the proud, her tender charity by the envious, her patience by the passionate, her zeal by the slothful, her poverty by the avaricious, her sobriety by the gluttonous, her chastity by the sensual : a scheme again owing to St. Bonaventure.

Each terrace has its special prayer, and its particular hymn, sung, it is true, with tears in the voice, yet with a sadness rarefied with hope ; a sorrow softened by resignation, whose essence is joy. A delicate sadness full of charm, a chastened sorrow full of beauty, untouched with either the dryness of desolation or the anguish of despair. In fact, their condition is rather one of solace than pain, which in feeling comes very near so much of the Church's thought as lies in St. Catherine's "Treatise on Purgatory." The prayer of the first terrace, of the proud, is the Paternoster, that sigh of our impotence, that appeal for aid, that abasement in humiliation, which carries, as Hugh of St. Victor says, the remedy in it for the seven deadly sins. How appropriately, then, does Dante make it the first prayer on his way of purgation from the seven deadly sins. It closes with a prayer for those who have to come after the prayers, and in thus teaching that the holy souls can pray for us, the poet leaves his great guide St. Thomas for SS. Gregory the Great and Peter Damian. Bellarmine in his "Treatise on Purgatory" inclines also to this view rather than to St. Thomas's, whose reasoning, in this respect, he says, "is not convincing."

The expiations in the Purgatorio are no less deeply appropriate than the punishments of the Inferno. For instance, the gluttonous, whose hymn is, Blessed are they that hunger and thirst, and among whose models of temperance is Mary at the Marriage Feast. Their expiation, too, carries a very distinct allusion to the work of the Son of God in the Redemption which the poet is drawing out. They expiate their temporal punishment in a hunger and thirst represented by their access to a tree whose fruit exhales delicious savour, whose branches are watered by a refreshing stream, neither of which are they permitted to taste. Here is symbolised that Tree whose fruit was the Living Bread, whose cry was "I thirst," and whose side opened to us the waters of eternal refreshment and blood which was drink indeed.

It is impossible here to develop the full meaning of her

who had held Dante's life in her heart, in whose honour he wrought this great labour of his years, the love of whom led him from nature, through grace, to the beatific vision. Beatrice the girl, who, awakening his reason, fixed in his memory the sweetness of life, and so became the love of his youth. Beatrice the woman, who, transfused, fixed his will on the science of God and so became theology, the love of his manhood. Beatrice the angel, who, transcending reason, led his understanding to the Trinity of the Godhead, and so became the love of his age, divine wisdom. The poet's time was flooded with love—the concupiscence of the heathen, the gay dalliance of the Troubadours, the soft sensuousness of the Minnesingers, Pagan love, whose essence was self-gratification. "The life of one man outvalues those of a thousand women," says Euripides. To such an age Dante holds up the mirror of another love, whose essence is self-sacrifice, which submits, suffers, but endures—Christian love. A supersensual love, whose object transcends death, capable of realising a good superior to and beyond itself, capable of striving, of enduring for it, and thus of power to fix itself upon the sovereign beauty as its highest good. True, among the Pagans, Plato recognised this sovereign beauty as God; Aristotle as the Infinitely Desirable Good, Cicero as the Divinity. But where was the activity of their love? Impotent, sterile, an intellectual apprehension and no more; for their highest good was an abstraction. But Dante's is a real, a personal love, so purified of its dross—he *felt* the expiation in passing over the seventh terrace—it became, like its object, eternal. For this it is capable of renunciation; for this accepts sacrifice; for this clothes itself in humbleness; for this he overshadows the love of the beauty of the body, for the loveliness of the spirit. Spiritualised, it no longer lives in time, it is illimitable, demanding an eternity in which to exist and a heaven for its dwelling-place. Such was the love that won for St. Francis the stigmata; that led St. Bonaventure's soul in its Journey to God; that sang with St. Thomas the hymn of Corpus Christi; that made the Imitation the golden book of Love. And such the love the ideal Beatrice taught Dante in the last three cantos of his *Purgatorio* and which was to be perfected in Paradise.

III.

It remains to glance at the action of the Holy Spirit, whose work the Incarnation was on our understanding illumined in the Kingdom of Glory, and made perfect through charity which is love. The peril of hell, the fatigue of purgatory, here give place to the peace of Paradise, where man can at last love God with his whole mind. Less dramatic than the Inferno, more difficult of seizure than the Purgatorio, the Paradiso appeals to the imagination through the intellect rather than through the senses; deals with themes, if not of profounder import, of more subtle bearing. Its meaning is less visible, being veiled in a mysticism whose beauty touches less numerous minds. But it is an effort of the human intellect to grasp eternity, to penetrate the white light of divinity, to sustain the effulgence of its presence, to reach and abide in the dwelling-place of God, which has not only never been surpassed, but in no measure approached in poetry.

Aristotle, in a celebrated passage, maintains that the highest bliss consists in vision, not in action; and Plotinus, that action is but a weaker form of vision. Hence in the Paradiso there is little action. Its life is pure intellect—the apprehension of truth unveiled in the mysteries of nature and grace. Truth realised, love finds its eternal peace, feeding and enlarging on the contemplation of the essence of itself in the everlasting Godhead. All the resources of poetry as a divine art are aglow, and yield their radiance and perfume in exquisite perfection. So that the Paradiso is less a poem than a prayer: not the least beautiful the Catholic Church has produced.

In the Inferno we saw the hand of God the Creator staying the inferior powers of man in their war against man's faith; in the Purgatorio the Redeemer's action in renewing man's will in its freedom; here in the Paradiso the Holy Spirit guiding the intellect to a right understanding of that love whence it emanated. Created for the knowledge of God's love, its proper use will increase the fire of divine love in our souls; for, as Pagani points out, "it is a law of human nature that the heart is the more induced to bestow its love upon an object, the more the intellect perceives and penetrates its perfections." It is the perception of and penetration

into God's love which is the work the third divine person performs in the *Paradiso*; this consummation of man in his loving God with his whole mind. "The path of the just," says the Holy Ghost, "as a shining light goeth forward, and increaseth even to perfect day." An exact epitome of the *Paradiso*.

Dante entered Hell at midnight, Purgatory at day dawn, but Paradise with the full radiance of the sun. The most inexpressibly beautiful thing in nature is sunlight: the most spiritual, subtle, inimitable. In brilliancy penetrative, in movement magical, in power supreme; evanescent yet enduring, destroying yet creative, changeful yet ever the same. As he, apparently motionless, ascends with Beatrice (Virgil, human science, is no guide here), on whom he gazes in ecstasy, and who now symbolises divine knowledge and wisdom, the limitless expanse of space is one limitless sea of sunlight: vista upon vista of incommunicable beauty. One of the many profound thoughts of Pascal was that for a man to stand alone on a solitary moor and gaze into the heavens would force him to realise the littleness of his intellect. But Lamartine, using much the same figure, declared it to awaken in the soul unknown possibilities. What a tumult of feelings then swept the mighty soul of Dante as he gazed down, leagues and leagues of light trembling around him. The beauty of Beatrice grows more dazzling the higher they mount, so, too, Dante's nature became more capable of sustaining the greater intensity of light. And as they proceed from heaven to heaven memory fails him, will is quiescent, and understanding alone, illumined by the Spirit, threads the mysteries he everywhere sees unfold.

The powers of the concupiscences, of youth, manhood, and life, have, in the *Inferno*, been annihilated by the creative justice of God the Father; the spiritual freedom of the will has, in the *Purgatorio*, been strengthened and assured through its redemption in God the Son; now, in the *Paradiso*, the remaining shadows of earthly doubt or non-knowledge are one by one removed through the transcending irradiation of God the Holy Ghost, as heaven upon heaven is gained in the ascension to the Godhead. The orders of the church triumphant unite with the orders of the church militant in

preparing this perfection of the understanding. And as it opens so does the heart: with comprehension comes capacity: the soul's power of loving broadens and deepens: it feels its increase vividly aglow. Then burst upon its vision the triumphant hosts of our Redeemer. And over their million lamps broke a sun from whose living light all drew their radiance. There was the Might and the Wisdom which had laid open the path, so yearned for, between heaven and earth. There, too, the Rose wherein the Word was made incarnate, the *rosa mystica* of the Church's song. Dante's eyes ache as he gazes on the legion of splendours on whose burning rays lightnings shed from above. He calls on Mary—symbol of Divine mercy—to sustain his vision. The messenger of the Incarnation comes in reverent homage to escort her while the Easter hymn, *Regina Cæli*, is made as a wreath of melody to crown her. To trace the beauteous, deep embosomed splendour of this flame of love neither mortal speech nor even the inward shapings of the brain have colours fine enough.

A confession of Faith (taken from St. Thomas) to St. Peter, of Hope, the offspring of Faith, to St. James (in almost the words of Peter Lombard), and an act of Charity, the fruition and fulfilment of Faith and Hope, to St. John, and Dante passes into the Beatific Vision: the sea of immeasurable Love and Beauty, into which all understanding empties itself.* By the perfect flowering of this trinity of supernatural virtues the work of the Holy Trinity is completed, the vision of Dante is achieved, his life's labour is fulfilled.

So, in the words of the mystic Tauler, man becomes like to the form of God—Godlike, Godly. Thus is the harmony of man accomplished: desire and possession, mind and heart, soul and body, made perfect in his union with God.

To such heights has Catholicism raised Poetry, to such depths has her mysteries led it, that “post Dantis Paradisum nihil restat nisi visio Dei.”

D. MONCRIEFF O'CONNOR.

* To this, not Beatrice, but St. Bernard—whom Chaucer calls the Flower of Virgins—leads him. He whose heart hymned imperishably the Holy Name, and from whose lips the world has learned the wondrous promise of Mary's unfailing help.

ART. VIII.—THE LIFE OF CARDINAL
MANNING.*

"**N**O man's life ought to be published till twenty years after his death." As we turn the pages of the book before us, these words of Frederick Denison Maurice come back to our memory with a new force and meaning. And we feel that there is a truth at the bottom of this oracular utterance. The proposition, it is true, is somewhat sweeping; and it cannot be taken literally, or applied in all cases. There are men whose lives are so free from anything likely to furnish matter for strife, that the story, were it worth the telling, can be told none too soon. And, on the other hand, there are some biographers of such rare tact and discriminating judgment that they can safely deal with more difficult and disputable questions, without doing anything to wound the feelings of the living or wrong the memory of the dead. But the life of the late Cardinal Manning was just such a case as was contemplated by Maurice. His lot was cast in the midst of more than one burning public controversy, in which his position compelled him to take his part, to say nothing of the private misunderstandings or collisions with some of his contemporaries, which were hardly avoidable in the course of such a long and eventful career. To attempt anything like a full narration of this story within a few short years from his death might well seem a perilous undertaking—*periculosa plenum opus aleae*. Yet this is the task upon which Mr. Purcell has entered, apparently with a light heart. By the kindness of the Cardinal himself, the biographer was furnished with some valuable notes and reminiscences, many of which were published for the first time in the pages of this REVIEW.† Later on, the Cardinal's executors, in what they now consider "an evil hour," allowed him to have access to a miscellaneous mass of correspondence and other private papers.

* "Life of Cardinal Manning, Archbishop of Westminster," by Edmund Sheridan Purcell, Member of the Roman Academy of Letters. London : Macmillan & Co.

† DUBLIN REVIEW, April 1892.

The rule by which Mr. Purcell has been guided in the difficult and delicate task of making selections from these private documents has at any rate the merit of extreme simplicity.

I have not omitted or suppressed a single letter, document, or autobiographical Note essential to a faithful presentation of character, or to the true story of events, with one sole exception (vol. i. p. vii.).

And again :

I have suppressed no facts material for the elucidation of truth or the manifestation of character ; withdrawn no documents or letters, lest, in bearing witness to facts or events in his life, such letters might haply give offence to the timid or the weak, or to them that shun publicity as bats shun the light of day ; or, still worse, practised what is called a "system of judicious suppression," out of a vain or unworthy desire of creating unduly or untruly a more favourable impression on the general reader than was warranted by facts. On the other hand, I have not set down aught in levity or on hearsay, or out of keeping, I trust, with the fitness of things, far less, I need scarcely add, in malice. As good wine needs no bush, so a good and noble nature stands in no need of suppression of truth (vol. ii. p. 236).

Later on in the same volume he returns once more to this point, and appeals to the authority of Cardinal Manning and Leo XIII. against

the vicious system of suppressing or glossing over facts in history sacred or profane, or in the lives of men, Saints, or sinners, as repugnant to truth and justice, and, in the long run, as detrimental to the spiritual interests of the Church" (p. 755).

Now let us say at once that we frankly accept this principle as the true guide to be followed in writing history ; and we have no wish whatever to question the wisdom of Cardinal Manning's words. But there are reasons which should make us slow to apply the principle with the same freedom to the story of our own days. It is more easy to deal fairly and dispassionately with the events and actors of the dead and buried past. For, on the one hand, we are less likely to be swayed or unduly biassed by our own personal feelings, and on the other hand, there is no danger of wounding the susceptibilities of those who are the subject of our history—*άμερας ἐπίλοιποι μάρτυρες σοφώτατοι*. There are some things

which we had best leave to the care of posterity, which can see them with clearer eyes and judge them more fairly.

Mr. Purcell is not altogether ignorant of the need of some reserve in the matter of contemporary history, for he tells us that he has made one exception to his rule of publishing all essential documents. And he gives us his reasons for doing so. "It was considered wise or expedient to omit, at all events for the present, this note of five or six pages, on the ground that it might give pain to persons still living, or provoke controversy at home or abroad" (p. vii.). These certainly seem excellent reasons for withholding the document in question from the public. But why does the biographer take this prudent precaution in one case alone? Did he really think that there was nothing in the letters and notes which he *has* published calculated to stir up strife or to give pain to the relatives and friends of Cardinal Manning who are still with us? If so, he must now be aware that he was strangely mistaken.

But this wholesome fear of kindling needless controversy or giving pain to others, is by no means the only reason for deprecating the system of indiscriminate publication which Mr. Purcell has thought fit to follow. The sacred cause of truth is only too likely to suffer from this attempt to tell everything without reserve or reticence, without fear or favour. Historians like Dr. Pastor, who can command the Vatican archives, as well as other public and private sources, and bring fresh records to light from many and very various quarters, have some prospect of giving a fairly accurate picture of the period with which they deal. But a biographer who seeks his materials in the letters and journals of one dead man, can hardly serve the interests of truth by wholesale publication. His documents give, at best, but one-half of the controversies and discussions in which their writer was engaged, and the disclosure reveals the motives, and, it may be, the faults and failings of one side alone. There may be other papers of men still living, or letters of the dead whose executors discreetly withhold them from the public, which would correct and complete this one-sided picture. And in the case of private letters meant only for the eyes of their recipient, there is often great danger of cruel misconstruction. Thus the personal

remarks and caustic criticisms on the conduct of others found in some of the notes here published, might bear a different meaning to the mind of the original reader, for whom alone they were intended. If their writer, while condemning something in the conduct of one of his colleagues, had at the same time spoken of the esteem in which he held him for his good qualities, it would obviously be very unfair to take the blame apart from its context, and suppress the praise. But when he knows that his correspondent is already well aware of this favourable opinion of the person he is criticising, the writer will hardly think it worth while to give it expression. The qualifying context is thus often understood, but not the less present to the mind of the reader. And it is no paradox to say that, to the general public, the whole of a private letter is often but a garbled extract.

Were it only for this reason, we must consider the present biographer guilty of a grave error of judgment in publishing some of the documents contained in these volumes. As we should have said the same if Mr. Purcell had himself been appointed executor with full legal power over these papers, we need not enter into the questions at issue between him and the executors of Cardinal Manning.

In making this preliminary protest against this indiscreet publication of private papers, it may be well to add a word to prevent a possible misunderstanding. In a passage which we have already cited from the book itself, and in a more marked manner in his vigorous rejoinder to the strictures of Cardinal Vaughan and the executors, Mr. Purcell speaks of those who wish to suppress the true facts and have an idealised portrait of Cardinal Manning, free from faults and failings. And it is to the disappointment of this desire that he attributes the angry outcry which has greeted his own outspoken history. Let him not lay this flattering unction to his soul. Doubtless, those who favour the timorous course of hushing up everything unpleasant and making a fancy picture of the Cardinal may help to swell the chorus of condemnation. But the criticisms, assuredly, do not come from these alone. We are not idealists. We would fain have a faithful likeness of the real Cardinal we have known and loved, and that with no blind affection. And our first complaint is that the biographer has given us some-

thing else in its place. It may be a grave mistake and a false charity to overlook the defects in a hero's character, and ignore the unpleasing incidents that marred the harmony of his career. But it is a still worse sacrifice of historic truth to magnify real failings and imagine others, and give a painful prominence to the record of conflicts, and wrangles, and misunderstandings. Even if these less pleasing portions of the picture are in themselves true to nature, they will none the less convey a radically false impression, if the rest of the colours are on a different scale.

Having entered this needful protest against the course adopted by the author, we may now turn to consider the result of his labours. Whether these letters and diaries were meant to see the light or no, their publication is now an accomplished fact. And, with whatever regrets and misgivings, we must needs make the best of it. We have already been told that the book is to be met by what is after all the only satisfactory answer, in the shape of a more adequate record of the Cardinal's life and labours. In these pages it is obviously out of the question to supply the deficiencies of the book before us, to set the facts which are therein recorded in a truer light, to reverse the writer's hasty judgments, and correct some of the false impressions which his work has conveyed to so many minds. For these things the reader must look to the new biography. Nevertheless, even within the limits of an article something in this direction may at any rate be attempted.

And first, we may observe that the book itself has been the subject of no little misapprehension. The singular severity of most of its Catholic critics may perhaps be regarded as an instance of what is called poetic justice. Mr. Purcell has given far too much attention to questionable or painful episodes in the story he is telling. And he has paid the natural penalty. His reviewers, friend and foe alike, have fastened upon these portions of the book to make capital out of them, or to gratify the morbid curiosity of the public, or to denounce their writer; while the more meritorious pages are comparatively neglected. The work itself has no doubt found a wide circle of readers; but a far larger number of the general public will form their estimate of it at second-hand, and judge it, however unjustly, by extracts which, for

the most part, show only its worst features. If we are not mistaken, there are many among us who are under the impression that Mr. Purcell's book is made up of nothing but private papers indiscreetly published, and hostile criticism on the Cardinal's conduct and character. And they will probably be agreeably surprised to find that there are really many pages devoted to Cardinal Manning's good deeds; while the chronicler, for all his hostility, at times indulges in the language of an admirer, or to use his own picturesque phrase, "a gushing incense-burner." We have already had occasion to point out some grave blots in the book, and we shall have to say more of them before we have done with it. But we have no wish to do its author any injustice, and we gladly avail ourselves of any opportunity of recognising its real merits.

The first volume, which is devoted to the Anglican life of Cardinal Manning, is in many respects the more satisfactory of the two. The arrangement of the matter, it is true, leaves much to be desired; and the chronology, or the want of it, is apt to be confusing. The writer, moreover, has a somewhat tiresome habit of repeating himself. But in spite of these drawbacks, he succeeds in telling the story of Manning's Anglican career, and gives us a pleasing picture of his life at Lavington. Many who are acquainted with the Cardinal's work among the Catholic poor in his later years will read with interest of his earlier pastoral labours among the Sussex peasantry. Here for instance is the Archdeacon's own account of an old shepherd's death-bed :

In December 1844, Mrs. Long, wife of an old shepherd living in Glaffham, came to me and said that her husband had taken to his bed, and that his deafness, always great, was so much worse that they could hardly make him hear. I gave her a print of the "Good Shepherd," and said, "Give him this book from me." She said, "He can't read." I said, "I know that, but give it to him from me."

I went that afternoon and found the print on his bed. I took it up, he reached out after it and said, "That's mine." I said, "Do you know what it is?" He said, "Yes, yes—the lost sheep—that's me." I put my hand round my head to signify the crown of thorns. He said, "Yes, the crown of thorns," and turned his head over on the pillow and sobbed.

Some days after he said to me, "I hope I shall just walk in;" that is, to the fold. Another day he took it up, and pointing to the crown of thorns said, "That's what cuts me most of all," and turned over and sobbed.

I went to him in the January following to administer the Holy Sacrament. As I gave him the paten I saw something on his neck or throat. At last I saw it was the print. After the Holy Sacrament I asked his wife when he had asked for it. She said, "As soon as it was light." I took it up and he said, "I haves it most days." He then said, "I hope He will have me like that"—the sheep on His shoulders—I said, "He has you like that. 'Him that cometh unto me I will in no wise cast out.' He does not wait for the lost sheep to come to Him, but He goes out to seek till He finds it." He said, "No, no, He don't wait for he to come to He, but He goes after he; and I hope I shall not give Him much trouble." Long had been a shepherd on the South Downs all his life; and had had trouble enough in seeking the sheep that wandered and were lost. He then took up the print and said, "I shall be glad to see that Man." That night he died (vol. i. p. 291-2).

Readers of Dr. Gasquet's admirable little sketch of Cardinal Manning's life will be reminded of the passage in which he tells how the Lavington flock always lived in the memory of their former pastor; and his story of the old gardener's death is a companion picture to this death-bed of the Sussex shepherd. Curiously enough, the other incident is not recorded in Mr. Purcell's pages.

Perhaps the chief interest of the present volume lies in the lengthy extracts from the Archdeacon's private diaries. We may, indeed, have some misgivings as to their publication, for we cannot be sure that this was Cardinal Manning's own desire, and if he wished otherwise, no one could well be justified in making them public property. Few, however, can fail to read them with interest. And to some of us such revelations of the inner life of a great soul will always have special attractions. St. Augustine, and in some measure other Fathers of the Church, have thus opened to us the secrets of their hearts, and we have thereby learnt to know them better and love them more. And in our own days one who had so lived among the Fathers that he became as one of themselves—*incedebat inter leones, et factus est leo*—has followed their example in this matter also. But Cardinal Manning, in his published writings, has told us but little of his own inner life. And his diaries thus come to us as a new revelation. Unlike Cardinal Newman's history of his religious opinions, this record was certainly not written for the public, and it thus rather resembles the self revelation which is given in "Froude's Remains." If these diaries and confidential letters are only

read in a right and reverent spirit, they will help us to appreciate the Cardinal's character and teach us many a useful lesson. There are, however, some things in them open to possible misconstruction, and the biographer has unfortunately handled them in a fashion which is only calculated to lead his readers astray. The confessions of a sensitive conscience must not be taken too literally ; and when we read of a period of "declension," we must remember that the writer has a very high standard of duty before his eyes. At times, Mr. Purcell shows that he is not altogether unmindful of the need of making this reduction ; but in too many cases he seems to forget it, and takes the self-accusations too seriously.

This is especially the case with those letters and journals which have to do with the years immediately preceding the Archdeacon's change of religion. And this part of the work has consequently created a very painful impression in the minds of many readers. We shall have something to say on this matter presently ; but we must first point out the bearing of the facts here disclosed on some charges which have, before now, been brought against Manning's conduct at this critical period of his life. Some writers have not hesitated to describe his renunciation of Anglicanism as the result of a disappointed ambition. These cynical and superficial critics would have us believe that the Archdeacon of Chichester found that he had no chance of attaining to a mitre in the English Church, and forthwith betook himself to "fresh woods and pastures new." Others, while exonerating him from this more serious charge, have still accused him of acting in haste and unreasoning panic. Take for instance the following utterance of a well-known Anglican organ at the time of Cardinal Manning's death :

It is doubtful whether he ever appreciated the bearings of the great controversy ; he adopted the principles of Newman wholesale, and after Newman's defection, when at a given crisis he thought they would not hold, he abandoned them. In the panic of 1850 he literally, as the *Saturday Review* puts it, "cut and run." He took it for granted that if the Privy Council went wrong about the Gorham business Rome must be right.

Now, the evidence here brought together, whatever else it may do for good or for evil, ought certainly to make short work of both these charges. And first with regard to the

accusation of ambition, it is made abundantly clear that in December 1845, the Archdeacon by his own deliberate act refused the office of sub-almoner to the Queen—and this on the very ground that it would be likely to lead on to more, or in other words to open for him a way to that mitre for which, forsooth, he was so eagerly and so vainly striving (vol. i. p. 277-9). The pages of the private diary which record this refusal, and the carefully balanced reasons by which the Archdeacon arrived at his decision, form a very curious and instructive example of subtle self-analysis and generous devotion to the higher path of duty. And they ought surely to be enough to remove the last suspicion of this theory of disappointed ambition from the minds of all reasonable men.

We may observe in passing that Mr. Purcell has made the anxiety manifested on this subject the occasion of an unfortunate remark, which to some readers at least conveys a painful impression :

In his numerous letters to Robert Wilberforce there is no further allusion to Newman. It would almost seem, at any rate as far as the expression of opinion or feeling goes, that the question of the acceptance or refusal of the sub-almonership to the Queen were a matter of deeper concern to Manning than Newman's conversion (vol. i. p. 312).

This has been taken to mean that the Archdeacon thought more of a paltry piece of preferment for himself than of the spiritual welfare of his friend. But to one who has carefully read the reasons which led to the refusal of the sub-almonership, and what is said elsewhere about the impression created in Manning's mind by Newman's conversion, this charge is too absurd to require refutation ; and we cannot believe that the writer really meant to insinuate it. And we can only wonder what strange perversity led him to make this pointless observation.

The charge of acting in a panic is, if possible, yet more completely demolished by the letters and journals here made public. It is clearly shown by this new evidence that the conversion, far from being precipitate, was singularly slow, and a work of gradual growth and development. And by the time that the final submission was made the whole question had been fully worked out, and the last difficulty overcome.

But if this charge is removed, we are now confronted by another yet more serious. According to Mr. Purcell's account, the conversion would seem to have been delayed too long. He represents the Archdeacon as already convinced of the truth, but kept back by "moral difficulties," and "human motives."

What retained Manning in the English Church so long after he had abandoned faith in its mission and teaching, and what entangled his tongue, were not intellectual, but moral difficulties. Moral difficulties which in his Diary he describes as "temptations to secularity;" "shrinkings of flesh and blood," as he tells Robert Wilberforce, from a sacrifice of what was dearest to him in life—his home and hopes; his office and work in the Church of England (vol. i. p. 488).

And on a later page we read :

Even before the Gorham Judgment he had clearly and without reserve declared his faith in the Catholic Church. His letters to Robert Wilberforce testify this. All that was wanting was the final act of submission. What is still keeping him back? What had kept him back so long? Human motives: old habits of mind, fear of taking an irrevocable step: fear which he likened to the fear of death: old ties and associations. Well might he have cried aloud to Robert Wilberforce that he was "full of dread lest the truth of conscience should be lost by waiting and listening to the suggestions of flesh and blood" (p. 566).

Nor is this all. Manning is further represented as speaking during this time of hesitation with a "double voice."

What, I grant, is a curious difficulty, almost startling at first, is to find Manning speaking concurrently for years with a double voice. One voice proclaims in public, in sermons, charges, and tracts, and, in a tone still more absolute, to those who sought his advice in confession, his profound and unwavering belief in the Church of England as the divine witness to the Truth, appointed by Christ and guided by the Holy Spirit. The other voice, as the following confessions and documents under his own handwriting bear ample witness, speaks in almost heartbroken accents of despair at being no longer able in conscience to defend the teaching and position of the Church of England; whilst acknowledging at the same time, if not in his confession to Laprimaudaye, at any rate in his letters to Robert Wilberforce, the drawing he felt towards the infallible teaching of the Church of Rome (p. 463).

It is only fair to add that Mr. Purcell attempts some apology for this very singular conduct which he ascribes to Archdeacon Manning :

In the trying period between 1847-51 Manning's mind was in a state of transition in regard to his religious belief. The struggle was as prolonged as it was severe. Until his mind had grasped the reality of things; had probed his doubts to the bottom; had reached solid ground, consistency or coherency of statement was perhaps scarcely to be expected. To see things in one light to-day, in another to-morrow, is but natural in such a transition-state of mind. To make statements on grave matters of faith to one person or set of persons in contradiction of statements made to others, is only a still stronger proof of a sensitive mind, perplexed by doubt, losing for the time being its balance (pp. 463-4).

But if the lengthening out of the transition period was but the outcome of "human motives," and if the utterances of the two voices were really as contradictory as the biographer would have us believe, it is difficult to accept this explanation as sufficient or satisfactory.

The fact is that the biographer has failed to grasp the true state of Manning's mind, and the real significance of the contrasted utterances. The Anglican position, with all respect be it said, is not, at its best, very intelligible to mere outsiders. And when its somewhat complex character is still further complicated by the intrusion of doubts, and misgivings, and leanings to Rome, it is no wonder that one who has himself been brought up as a Catholic should fail to fathom its depths. In justice to Mr. Purcell, this should be borne in mind, for it will help, in some degree, to account for his singularly painful presentation of this transition period. But there is something far more important than the question of the blame attaching to the biographer, and that is the task of finding the true explanation of the prolonged struggle and the alleged "double voice."

And here it may not be amiss to glance for a moment at the story of another conversion. In the luminous pages of the "Apologia," Cardinal Newman has made his own course so clear, that any suspicions as to his perfect honesty and good faith throughout have been dispelled for ever. If, therefore, we can see any point of resemblance to that course in these letters and confessions of Cardinal Manning, it would serve to lighten if not to remove the difficulty suggested by the present biographer. Now, there is at least this one broad fact plainly discernible in both cases. If Manning uses language in grave disparagement of Anglicanism more than

five years before his actual change of religion, the tractarian leader had experienced similar feelings at a still earlier period. Speaking of what befel him in the summer of 1839—four years before the preliminary step of resigning St. Mary's, and six years before his submission to the Catholic Church—Cardinal Newman says :

At once and irrevocably I found my faith in the tenableness of the fundamental principle of Anglicanism disappear, and a doubt of it implanted in my mind which was never eradicated.

And again, speaking of the further light that came to him in 1841, he adds :

From that time, what delayed my conviction of the claims of the Catholic Church upon me, was not any confidence in Anglicanism as a system of doctrine, but particular difficulties which as yet I saw no way of reducing, and the fear that, since I found my friends strongly opposed to my view of the matter, I might, in some way or other, be involved in a delusion.*

Now, it is surely natural, at first sight, to suggest the possibility that Manning's unsettlement in 1845, and in the following years, may have been no more decisive than the doubts which startled Newman, and that some at least of the causes which delayed the one may have operated also in the case of the other. But will the evidence now before us bear this interpretation ; or is there anything to show that here the intellectual conflict was ended more speedily, so that we must have recourse to Mr. Purcell's "moral difficulties" to account for the delay ? If any one who is familiar with the language of Anglican theology will carefully read through these letters and journals, there can be little doubt of his answer. Not only are the documents susceptible of this interpretation, but it is difficult to see how they can fairly admit of any other.

Some of the Archdeacon's expressions are, no doubt, sufficiently startling in one occupying his position, but they are by no means enough to warrant Mr. Purcell's account of the matter, and they are, moreover, accompanied by distinct intimations that the writer's mind is not yet clear—and this in the most private letters and journals. Let us take for instance

* "Lectures on Anglican Difficulties," Lect. XII.

the following entry in the diary in July 1846, which is a curious contrast to the biographer's language about "moral difficulties":

I feel as if a light had fallen on me. My feeling about the Roman Church is not intellectual. I have intellectual difficulties, but the great moral difficulties seem melting. 7. Something keeps rising and saying, "You will end in the Roman Church." 8. And yet I do not feel at all as if my safety requires any change, and I do feel that a change might be a positive delusion.*

Even more striking than the above words in the diary is the following passage in a letter to Wilberforce written in 1848: "Still I can say that I have never felt the fear of safety or pressure of conscience, which alone justifies a change" (p. 508).

These, be it observed, are both of them notes of what Mr. Purcell would call "the inner voice," speaking in the private journal or the correspondence with Robert Wilberforce; and yet they tell of another reason for delay than those "human motives" and "moral difficulties" to which Mr. Purcell would ascribe it. And they show that the writer was still waiting for something which was needed to *justify* a change. In the midst of all the strong things that he says of the shortcomings of Anglicanism, there is at the same time a misgiving that, after all, he may be under a delusion. And it is for this very reason that he pours out all these difficulties and objections in their most forcible form, into the friendly ears of Wilberforce, whose deeper learning might haply set him right if there should be some evidence which he had overlooked. Who can read these passages carefully without seeing that the struggle through which Manning was passing was not that of one who is clearly convinced and yet cannot break away from ties that hold him captive, but that of a man whose path is not yet plain, and whose sensitive conscience will not suffer him to move? Mr. Purcell, indeed, sometimes seems to feel this, for he heads one of his chapters "Conflicting Claims of Conscience," and he talks of the Archdeacon's "duty" to

* Vol. i. p. 485. A very singular footnote is appended to another entry on this page explaining the "new creation," which as the context shows is obviously St. Paul's *kaiav̄ krisis*, as the "creation of the Jerusalem bishopric."

his penitents. But, unfortunately, the biographer himself, in this matter at least, shows some appearance of a "double voice;" and the world will probably pay more heed to those passages in which he speaks of "human motives" and "shrinkings of flesh and blood." As for the alleged contradiction between the Archdeacon's language to his penitents and that of his confidential correspondence with Wilberforce, it will be seen from what has been said already that the divergence is by no means so great as the biographer's words would imply. When once it is seen that the inner voice is not clearly and decisively against Anglicanism and in favour of Rome, it is obviously so far brought nearer to the tones of the other voice. Nor is this all; a patient examination of the letters of direction will reveal some notes that sound in unison with those of the more confidential correspondence. To the superficial observer, there may seem to be a flat contradiction between the letters which throw doubt on the position of the Church of England and those which exhort others to remain within her fold. Yet, after all, Manning was but bidding his penitents to do what he still felt bound to do himself. And if he believed it to be his own duty to remain in spite of all the difficulties which affected him so strongly, he was naturally still more clear that this must be the duty of others who had never felt their force in the same way. Moreover, the very comfort which he offers to his penitents is in some measure that which is his own stay in the midst of his intellectual difficulties. The line which he takes in these letters is not that of orthodox Anglicanism, but may rather be likened to the new position adopted by Newman when the *Via Media* melted away in the presence of St. Leo, and he cast about to find some available substitute. This may be seen by comparing the remarkable letter to a penitent written in July 1850 (p. 481), with a sentence in one of the most despairing notes to Wilberforce dated Holy Innocents, 1849.* In the former letter, the Archdeacon makes a distinction between what he calls the outer and the inner spheres of the Church of God on earth—a distinction which corresponds pretty nearly to that

* P. 516. By a misprint this letter is referred to on p. 481 as having been written in 1847. This is an unfortunate mistake, as it throws the doubts therein expressed two years further back.

generally drawn between the body and the soul of the Church—and he comforts his penitent with the assurance that all will be well if only she will follow out her probation in the “inner sphere” of union with God and a life of faith and love. In the letter to Wilberforce, after vividly expressing his doubts and difficulties, he goes on to say: “But in the midst of all I find great peace, living in a sphere of faith, and amidst the thoughts and images of which our system gives no expression.”

If the reader, after weighing these passages carefully, will turn to the important letter of advice written to a lady in 1850, he will hardly fail to appreciate the true nature of the struggle through which Archdeacon Manning was passing, and find the missing link between the two chains of correspondence.

And when it is once made clear that up to the last the intellectual difficulties had not entirely faded, and the fear of possible delusion still forbade a step which might be as fatal as a mistake made on a death-bed, it is easy to understand the meaning of Manning’s dread lest he should listen to the suggestions of flesh and blood. Who does not know how the subtle influence of natural affection, or inclination, or love of old habits and familiar places, and fear of change, can blend with the intellectual motives, and warp the judgment while they weaken the will? And who can wonder to find a sensitive conscience like the Archdeacon’s thus haunted by a twofold fear—a fear that if he moved he might be acting under a deadly delusion, and a fear that if he stayed it might really be the subtle suggestions of human weakness that held him back? If Mr. Purcell has never gone through a similar conflict he is a happy man; but he would have done well had he left the handling of this delicate question to one who was *haud ignarus mali*.

There is another passage in this volume which has caused no little pain to the friends of Cardinal Manning, and, though it hardly needs a serious answer, it will not do to let it pass unnoticed here. In speaking of the course adopted by the Archdeacon at the time when Tract 90 was being condemned by the bishops, Mr. Purcell takes occasion to make the following astonishing statement: “To a losing cause Manning

was never partial, early in life or late. His nature instinctively shrank from them that were failing, or were down" (vol. i. p. 240). This is by way of explaining the Protestant attitude which Manning took up at that time, notably in his sermon at Oxford on the 5th November, 1843. It is, however, hardly in keeping with the author's own language on the very next page, for he says that the whole High Church party was then in danger of being involved in one common condemnation with the Tractarians; and this sermon was preached with the object of averting that catastrophe at all hazards. And he even speaks of it later on as a public duty. This last sentence, by the way, is a singular specimen of the loose language which is occasionally to be met with in these volumes. "Manning was not the man, in the Church's interests or his own, to shrink, no matter at what sacrifice of personal friendship, from a public duty" (p. 244). Are "the Church's interests or his own" the grounds of the "public duty" or the motives for shrinking from its fulfilment? Could anything be a public duty in his own interests? And how could he shrink from a duty in the interests of the Church? And which of the alternative courses involves the sacrifice of personal friendship? The meaning is mercifully explained by the following passage on a later page:

In his Testification sermon at St. Mary's, Oxford, and in the Charges delivered in 1841, 1842, and 1843, at Chichester Cathedral, he had discharged what he considered a public duty—a duty to himself and to the moderate High Church party—he had publicly disowned Newman and the Tractarians, and had given pledges to the rampant Protestantism of that angry day. A private duty remained to be fulfilled—to be fulfilled in private—the duty of friendship and of affection for Newman (pp. 253-54).

A course which was dictated by a sense of duty, however mistaken, is sufficiently accounted for without the help of that meaner motive which this writer has thought fit to insinuate. At the same time, it is easy to understand how some Tractarians may have regarded the Archdeacon as a deserter, and attributed his conduct to a craven fear of public clamour. But how can any reasonable man so mistake his character in the light of subsequent events? Some seven years later there was a far louder outcry; and what did Manning do in that still

more angry day? He stoutly stood aloof from the clamorous crowds who were sounding the tocsin against Popery; and shortly afterwards joined himself to that unpopular cause which was the object of their fury.

The same fearless spirit was conspicuous in the part which he took on more than one occasion in his later life, in befriending failing, or unpopular causes. Many of his works of social reform are proofs of his courage in the face of opposition, as well as of his readiness to help those who were down. When Mr. Stead was the object of a general outcry—which finds a belated echo in Mr. Purcell's pages—Cardinal Manning still stood his friend, and went to visit him in prison. This was certainly strange conduct for one whose nature instinctively shrank from them that were down! So, again, he held out his hand to the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, when its lot was cast in evil days. And when its zealous secretary, Mr. Waugh, was disheartened by the opposition of enemies and the indifference of friends, Cardinal Manning was ever ready to give him fresh courage to go on with his noble work. A better judge of character than the present biographer has said that “the surest way to Manning's heart was for a man or a cause to be down and apparently hopeless.”

At first sight it is hard to imagine what can possibly be the origin of this strange judgment, which the biographer has delivered in somewhat oracular fashion, without making any attempt to establish it by evidence. There may, however, be some facts in the Cardinal's history which he has somehow misunderstood, and made into a basis for this preposterous accusation. Thus, in the second volume, he seems to see some trace of this shrinking from losing causes in the Cardinal's later views on Italian politics and the Temporal Power. But the true explanation of that change of attitude has been well put by Dr. Gasquet:

It was a change, not of object, but of the means of carrying that object out. Like most men of practical genius, he was wont to lose no time in regrets which he thought useless, but set himself to look for some other means of obtaining the end he had at heart.*

The foreign diaries and letters are among the more pleasing

* “Cardinal Manning,” by J. R. Gasquet, p. 56, C.T.S.

pages of the first volume, and contain much valuable and interesting matter. They serve, in some measure to relieve the gloom cast on the picture by so many words of doubt and anxiety and such painful passages as that which has just been cited. In the notes of the visit to Belgium, in the summer of 1847, we see the Archdeacon coming, for the first time, into close contact with Catholic priests, and religious, and feeling the sweet influence of the Catholic ritual. "In this spiritual retreat," says Mr. Purcell, "God laid deep in the heart of His elect the foundations of his future faith" (p. 354). The longer extracts from the journals of the Italian tour of 1847-8 record some of his impressions of the political state of the country in that momentous period. It is curious to find the Archdeacon in such intimate relations with the Italian Liberals, and looking on as an outsider at the fortunes of the Church which was so soon to be his home. The somewhat dubious character of the information given to the eminent stranger must be borne in mind by the reader when he meets with some startling statements about the clergy and the religious orders. There is apparently some misunderstanding in the footnote on pp. 386-7, which speaks of efforts made by Pius IX. to reform the monastic orders in Italy, and of the resistance offered thereto by the great religious houses, especially by the Dominicans. The reader will not unnaturally connect this question of reform with the charges of loose morality mentioned in the text to which this note is appended. But there is, surely, another kind of "reform" of which even the purest orders are susceptible—the reform which consists in the introduction of a stricter rule, and the revival of primitive observances. And Englishmen, with their own conservative instincts, will readily understand how such changes may well be unwelcome even to excellent men. As the readers of Père Lacordaire's fascinating life may remember, there was such a reform introduced about this time. And it may be shrewdly suspected that the alarming language of the present note is only an inaccurate account of these proceedings.

The chapter headed "Archdeacon Manning in Rome" opens with a strange mistake. For among the English visitors with whom Manning had friendly intercourse we find the name of the Rev. John Sterling. This is apparently a confusion between the two Roman journeys which Manning made in his Anglican days.

It was during the first of these visits that he had some interesting conversations with Sterling, as Mr. Purcell has duly recorded on an earlier page, where he prints a letter from the poet, written in 1840, which alludes to this meeting in Rome. Sterling's death in 1844 is mentioned on p. 276, so that it is somewhat startling to find him resuscitated three years later, on p. 362. It could be wished that the biographer had been able to tell us something more of Manning's relations with the graceful essayist and poet, who is here described as being "well known as a rationalistic writer." The letter he has given is enough to show that their intercourse was of a very kindly nature. But it might well have been supplemented by some reference to the information which Sterling's brother-in-law has given us on this subject. Maurice, it appears, had been taken to task by a writer in the *English Review* for encouraging Sterling's rationalistic tendency, and neglecting the duty of setting him right. He replied to the charge in a very characteristic letter, humbly acknowledging that he reproached himself for having adopted the very course recommended by his critic, thereby doing nothing but harm by his rebukes and arguments.

I can testify [he adds] as strongly to the entirely opposite and gentle and altogether Christianising influence which was produced on his mind by the frank, genial, cordial spirit with which he was met by two men whom even the reviewer will scarcely suspect of any tolerance for his opinions, Archdeacon Manning, and a dear friend of my college days, Mr. Marriott, of Oriel. They showed him more sympathy than I did, precisely because their moral and spiritual tone was much more elevated; and so I believe the case will always be.*

The passage is well worth recording here, for it throws a light on one aspect of Cardinal Manning's character which is too often overlooked by those who are accustomed to think of him chiefly as a staunch and somewhat rigid champion of orthodoxy. It shows us how his sympathy went out to those whose doubts and difficulties he could neither share nor understand. And it is pleasant to see how his holiness and spirituality of life were known and appreciated by an acute observer of a very different school of thought.

The first volume closes with a chapter on "Cardinal Wiseman's

* "Life of Frederick Denison Maurice," vol. i. pp. 505-6.

Life and Work in England," which the biographer considers necessary for the right understanding of Manning's Catholic career ; and he complains of the additional burden thus laid upon his shoulders by the long delay of Wiseman's biography. The complaint is, surely, unreasonable ; for the task he has undertaken is one of his own seeking. And there was really no need for him to rush into print in such hot haste. The Life of Cardinal Wiseman is already in excellent hands ; and if Mr. Purcell had only waited in patience for awhile, his own version of the story might have been spared.

This chapter, though full of interesting matter, is somewhat disappointing ; and this is hardly surprising ; for the task the writer is attempting is by no means a light one. A subject of this magnitude cannot well be treated with anything like completeness in the narrow space of some fifty pages. There is no room to mention all the chief labourers in the field in that first beginning of the Catholic revival. And the unwary reader who fancies that those mentioned by the author are really all, may go away with a very imperfect conception of the position and the culture of English Catholics at that time. Mr. Purcell pays a well deserved tribute to the late Mr. Robertson, the translator of Schlegel's "Philosophy of History," and Möhler's "Symbolism." But no mention is made of the excellent work done in the same direction by the Rev. Dr. Cox, of St. Edmund's College. In connection with this subject of German literature, it may not be amiss to correct one statement of the biographer. In a passing allusion to the Catholic revival in Germany, he speaks of Novalis as one of the illustrious converts to the faith. This is by no means the first time that this conversion has been recorded, and it is not likely to be the last ; for the same mistake is made in one of Heine's most fascinating works, and is thus pretty sure of a wide circulation. Now, it is certainly true that Friedrich von Hardenberg, better known as Novalis, like other writers of the romantic school, betrayed a Catholic tendency in some of his works ; and it is also the case that his brother afterwards entered the Catholic Church ; but there is apparently no warrant for the assertion that the poet himself ever had that happiness, and it has been emphatically denied by his biographer.*

* See his life, by G. Baur, "Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie," Band x. s. 567.

In the first volume, we have already seen many things we could have wished away, inaccurate statements, misleading utterances, and unwarranted inferences—and some, at least, of the papers published might well have been left in deserved oblivion. But when we turn to the latter portion of the work these birds of ill-omen come thick upon us. It is here especially that the want of proportion is most painfully apparent; and conflicts, and estrangements, and other unfortunate incidents are given an undue prominence, and treated at needless length, which, even supposing the facts to be correctly stated, will in all probability leave a false impression on the mind of the reader. It is true that here, also, there are many brighter pages telling of peaceful labours and triumphs, of kindly words and noble deeds. But, unhappily, they have too small a share in this bulky volume. It would be a pleasing task to take up what Mr. Purcell has here told us of the Cardinal's pastoral zeal, of his labours in the service of the weak and wayward, of the young and the poor and the helpless; and make some attempt to supply the deficiencies and fill in the outlines of the picture. This, however, would soon carry us too far; and our remaining pages must be devoted to the accomplishment of a less pleasant but far more necessary duty.

In making some attempt to remove the painful impression left by so many portions of this second volume, we have at the outset to decide between two alternative courses, to deal in a brief and summary fashion with every statement, or disclosure, or judgment that is likely to mislead or give offence; or, on the other hand, to select a few of the more important topics, and give them a more generous treatment. For various reasons, the latter course would seem to be the more satisfactory; and we may accordingly direct our attention mainly, if not solely, to the following important questions—"The Errington Case," "Archbishop Manning's Relations with J. H. Newman," and what may be called "The Cardinal's Closing Years."

The first of these questions need not detain us for long, as some of the chief objections to the biographer's presentation of this case—its undue length, the fragmentary character of his evidence, and the publication of confidential letters of a somewhat painful nature—have been partly considered in the earlier pages of this paper. As for its length, it will be

enough to say that this "Errington Case," and the other controversies more or less connected with it, fill so many of the two hundred odd pages devoted to the period preceding Manning's consecration as Archbishop, that little space is left for the history of his work as a priest. But these unfortunate disputes did not occupy the whole of his time, and there were, surely, many other things in the first fourteen years of his Catholic career which were, to say the least, as well worth recording.

The copious correspondence between Provost Manning and Monsignor George Talbot is not without interest, but it contains many things which no discreet editor would have given to the public. Not that there is anything wrong in the letters themselves, or anything damaging to the character of the late Cardinal :

Whatever record leaps to light,
He never shall be shamed.

But if there is nothing discreditable to the writers, there is certainly not a little that is calculated to give pain to some persons still living, and much that is likely to be misunderstood; while at the same time the correspondence is given a false importance by this wholesale publication. And if the biographer must print the letters, he might at least have copied them correctly and set them in some intelligible order. In one place he gives us three letters in immediate succession with the following dates—17th October 1863, 12th June 1859, 13th December 1860.* These are followed by a letter dated 1st February 1861, the greater part of which has already been printed on an earlier page. And it is curious to find that the two copies, which are both of them incomplete, have several variant readings. This would seem to show that the manuscripts have not been copied with strict accuracy.

A more serious blunder occurs in the following passage, where the biographer is giving a summary account of the matter in his own words before proceeding to justify it by producing his documents :

Mgr. Talbot reported that Dr. Errington complained that he was

* Vol. ii. pp. 142, 3.

defamed and calumniated at Rome, but Talbot, writing to Manning, avowed that he had never spoken against the coadjutor to the Pope, except, he naïvely admitted, by declaring that Dr. Errington was anti-Roman and retrograde in his policy (p. 93).

This would certainly have been a very important exception, quite enough, one would think, to justify Dr. Errington's complaint. But what were Talbot's real words, according to Mr. Purcell's own version of the letter?

As you say, who has accused him? I have not made any accusation against him to the Pope or Propaganda. The worst thing I have done has been to tell Mgr. Searle in a private letter that my opinion is that he is radically anti-Roman and retrograde in his policy. I have explained the meaning of anti-Roman in the way always understood here, namely, that he has not that *generous, indulgent* spirit in administrating the diocese which is characteristic of Rome. Nevertheless, he says he has been defamed and calumniated (p. 100).

This is a very different thing, and it throws no little light on the whole of this correspondence. Talbot, it would seem, said things in private letters to Searle, and it may well be supposed *a fortiori* in those addressed to Manning, which he would not think of saying to the Pope or to Propaganda. And just as this slip of Mr. Purcell's pen has here converted a remark made to one of Dr. Errington's friends into a declaration to the Pope, the reader may only too easily misread the rest of the correspondence in the same manner. For are not these letters given as the real explanation of the coadjutor's overthrow? And how could they achieve this remarkable result unless the Roman authorities had the full benefit of these unfavourable opinions?

It is pleasant to find Mr. Purcell doing full justice to Manning's motives in this struggle with the opposition party.

It was this fuller insight into the new life which was dawning upon Catholicism in England, with new duties and higher responsibilities imposed upon its leaders and guides, which impelled Manning to treat with infinite scorn the advocates of a standstill or retrograde policy. They had not, it must be acknowledged, the faintest conception of the mischief of their policy. Manning, on the other hand, had the most intense conviction of the evil they were preparing for the Church in England. They sometimes imputed, in their ignorance, unworthy or ambitious motives to Manning's line of action. He ascribed to them in

his impetuosity, too often wrongfully, a Gallican or Anti-Papal spirit (p. 139).

On the other hand, he thinks fit to speak of Manning's "somewhat unscrupulous methods of attack," an expression which he does not condescend to explain or to justify by evidence. Elsewhere, it is true, he tells us that

Manning did not like to put down on paper what he had to say about Dr. Errington; it was a subject he preferred discussing, as a rule, by word of mouth with Mgr. Talbot at the Vatican. Since the case was unformulated against Dr. Errington it was a subject rather for diplomatic discussion than for written statements or definite accusations (p. 97).

And this certainly does seem to imply a dark and insidious method of attack. But this assertion is scarcely in keeping with another passage a few pages before, where we are told that

Manning himself drew up a Memorial for presentation to the Pope, setting forth various charges against Dr. Errington, both in regard to his conduct or line of action as coadjutor and his opposition to the work of the Oblates at St. Edmund's College" (p. 91).

And it will probably occur to the judicious reader that this memorial, supposing it to be in existence, would throw more light on the real merits of the controversy than any number of letters passing between Talbot and Manning. What right has the biographer to assume this tone of authority, and talk of Manning's "somewhat unscrupulous methods of attack," if he is not acquainted with the really important documents, and is only making rash inferences from the stray hints thrown out in the course of this confidential correspondence? The reader may rest assured that there were, and still are, other documents besides these private letters, that clear and full statements were presented to the authorities at Rome, that definite questions were asked, and answered, and that Cardinal Wiseman by no means played the merely passive part which is here ascribed to him.

Happily, this controversy has long been laid to rest; and we have no wish whatever to see it resuscitated. And nothing shall be said here against those who took part in it on either side. It was, as Mr. Purcell rightly allows, a question

of principle and of policy, and not a mere personal squabble. And on both sides there was something gained, and something lost. Both sides, moreover, were only seeking to maintain their own rights ; and it is not the least defect in the present picture that Manning is made to appear too much in the light of an aggressor. A truer knowledge of the story would show that there was nothing unscrupulous in his conduct. And when it is seen that the struggle he was maintaining was really *pro domo sua*, his "attack" has a curious resemblance to defence.

It is now time to turn to a more painful problem, the question of the "variance" between Manning and Newman. At first sight, it may well seem a difficult and delicate task to touch upon this subject, without showing any want of respect for either of these illustrious Princes of the Church, or saying anything to offend the sensitive loyalty of their sons and disciples. And yet, if we may say so, we have little fear of failing in either direction, not indeed because of any sense of discriminating impartiality, but from the very strength of the ties that bind us to them both. Writing here, in Cardinal Manning's old home, in the very room where he spent so many hours of prayer and peaceful labour, we may well feel that the *genius loci* would restrain us from doing him any injustice.* And, on the other hand, the present writer is not likely to be wanting in due respect for Cardinal Newman. How, indeed, should I fail in reverence for our English Father of the Church, whose writings were so long my solace and delight, "whose musical words were ever in my heart and on my tongue" ?

Coming, then, to this story of the divergence between Manning and Newman, let us say at once that we neither wish to explain it away, nor to read it with the pessimistic spectacles of Mr. Purcell. The facts are there, in these notes and private letters of the two Cardinals. But how are we to regard them ? Briefly as a mutual misunderstanding,

* "The eight years I was at St. Mary's were the happiest of my life. Hard indeed, and full of anxiety, but full of high peace and independence of the world. My name has been always over my door, and I never feel so much at home as when I am in that little room. I lived in it only eight years, but these eight years were a work and a life which cannot be measured by dial time" (vol. ii. p. 74).

partly due to difference of character and temperament, partly to the state of the Church in England and the circumstances of the time, and partly to some unfortunate incidents. And lest any one should think this account of the matter fanciful or far-fetched, let us hasten to shelter ourselves under good authority. By a curious accident, the works of two of the Fathers lie beside us as we write, taken down from their shelf for some other purpose—St. Basil, and St. Gregory Nazianzen. To many, the mere mention of these names will be enough to recall a painful episode in the story of these two saintly friends, which is told us in one of Newman's earliest and most delightful writings.

This contrast of character, leading, first, to intimacy then to difference, is interestingly displayed, though painfully, in one passage of the history of Basil and Gregory; Gregory the affectionate, the tender-hearted, the man of quick feelings, the accomplished, the eloquent preacher, and Basil, the man of firm resolve and hard deeds, the high-minded ruler of Christ's flock, the diligent labourer in the field of ecclesiastical politics. Thus they differed, yet not as if they had not much in common still; both had the blessing and discomfort of a sensitive mind; both were devoted to an ascetic life.*

Who does not see at once the application of this vivid description to the characters of the two Cardinals? And there are, moreover, some other points of resemblance besides those noted here. Newman has told us how a line in his own fine poem to St. Gregory was once applied to himself; and the present Archbishop of Bucharest has spoken of Manning as a new Basil. In the following passage on another cause of their divergence, the names would obviously have to be applied the other way.

It happened unfortunately for their intimacy that they were respectively connected with distinct parties in the Church. Basil knew and valued, and gained over many of the Semi-Arians, who dissented from the orthodox doctrine more from over-subtlety, or want of clearness of mind, than from disbelief. Gregory was in habits of intimacy with the religious brethren of Nazianzus, his father's see, and these were eager for orthodoxy almost as a badge of party.†

There was clearly a marked contrast between Newman

* "Church of the Fathers," 1st ed., chap. viii. p. 117.

† *Ibid.* chap. viii. pp. 139, 140.

and Manning, which is not fully expressed by saying that the one was great in thought and the other in action. For Manning, too, was a thinker; though not of Newman's order. With keen insight he saw what were the great truths denied or called in question by men in these latter days. And he felt the importance of stating them boldly and plainly, supporting them by solid arguments, and stamping them with the seal of authority. This made him shrink from any opinions that tended to obscure these truths, or to weaken the authority on which they rested. His strong uncompromising line in defending the prerogatives of the Holy See, the infallibility, and the temporal power, was the outcome of no blind prejudice, but of clear-sighted zeal. And his mind is faithfully mirrored in his theological writings, not only in their matter, but in the very form of the words which are bold, decisive, dogmatic, not to say dictatorial.

Newman, on the other hand, saw the truth as clearly, and set his face as firmly against religious liberalism; but his wider range of thought and his vivid imagination made him equally alive to other dangers from an opposite quarter. Mr. Hutton has somewhere likened his marvellous style to some delicate fluid sensitive to influences from every side, yet drifting with a steady current in one direction. And here, if ever, *Le style c'est l'homme*. His mind was, indeed, sensitive to impressions that came from all the winds of thought, without ever departing from the true current. To few of the world's teachers has it been given to see so vividly and feel so keenly the darkness and the difficulties that surround the luminous points of truth. He could, in a measure, enter into the minds of opponents, or of those who were perplexed and wavering, and see things even as they saw them. This made him have a lively sense of the harm that may be done by rigid and ruthless dogmatism. It is this feeling that speaks in burning words in the opening pages of the letter to the Duke of Norfolk. And in "Idealism in Theology" it has been expressed by one of his disciples in words not unworthy of the master himself.

A patient and attentive study of the two Cardinals will reveal this broad difference in their characters, and might well lead us to expect that they would adopt variant lines of policy in working for the sacred cause, whose true interests they both had

at heart. Humanly speaking, it might almost seem inevitable that they should come into sharp collision, as other good and great men have done before their day. There was, so to say, an objective difference of views and policy antecedently to, and apart from, the personal misunderstandings which subsequently arose from certain accidental circumstances which have never been fully explained. And if we look at it rightly, it speaks well for the humility and charity of them both that the unfortunate "variance" went no further. Some of the letters here published are undoubtedly painful reading. But, after all, what strikes us most is the wonderful self-restraint of the writers. Is there any other instance where two correspondents have said so much, and yet have said no more?

Now, as we have said, we have no wish to explain away these painful letters. By all means let us have the real facts, and take them in their true meaning. But Mr. Purcell has given us something more than the facts. By his unfortunate language in treating of this correspondence, and yet more in a later chapter, where he deals with the Funeral Sermon, he conveys the impression that Manning was not really actuated by friendly feelings towards Newman.

The professions of friendship, on the other hand, uttered either in public, or in the apologetic correspondence with Newman, which follows below, need not be taken as expressing Archbishop Manning's inner mind so much as making use of forms of courtesy and friendliness which he considered incumbent under the circumstances.*

And speaking of the sermon, he says :

Not more than three or four years before the illusive and fancy picture of 1890, Cardinal Manning, not to speak of contemporary letters extending over a long period of years, avowed and put on record his condemnation of Newman in terms so clear and incisive as to leave no room or foothold for an after fiction of friendship. I will only recite one sentence from an autobiographical note, dated 1887.

"If I was opposed to Newman, it was only because I had either to oppose Newman, or to oppose the Holy See. I could not oppose the Pope."

It was not in Manning's nature to make a friend of a man who was, as he believed, the Pope's "opponent" (p. 754).

Has the writer forgotten that he has given us this same note

* Vol. i. pp. 324, 5.

in extenso on an earlier page? Any one who reads the above words without having gone through the volume, or without remembering what has been said before—and in the case of a book of this size such things will happen—might suppose from this that the friendship was an “after fiction,” put forth in this “illusive” public utterance, when, as we are told on the preceding page, Cardinal Manning forgot what had taken place in the “stormy periods of his turbulent life.” But what, in the biographer’s own words, is the “simple truth?” In the long note of 1887, from which presumably the above sentence is taken, in spite of the variant readings which it shows, Cardinal Manning writes: “During all this time I can declare that I have cherished the old friendship between us” (vol. ii. p. 351).

Here we have Manning saying that he cherished the old friendly feeling in the midst of that opposition which he so plainly and forcibly describes on the self-same page. How, then, does the fact of the opposition disprove the friendship? Are the two things so absolutely incompatible that in spite of this solemn declaration the one must needs be false because the other is true? We had thought it was, to say the least, possible to be constrained from a sense of duty to oppose the action of our dearest friends. And it is well to observe that Manning does not speak of Newman as an “opponent” of the Pope, but says that he himself must either oppose Newman or oppose the Holy See; and this, it should be added, has reference to three definite public questions. Now, it matters nothing whether in this he was misunderstanding Newman’s views or not, or whether his own opinions were in each case coincident with the teaching of the Holy See, or went beyond it. So long as he thought as he did, he could not act otherwise.

And if affection cannot dispense from duty, there is no reason for the sense of duty to destroy an old friendship. *Omnis tempore diligit qui amicus est.* That there was originally a real friendship, though not the “closest friendship,” between Manning and Newman, is sufficiently shown by the kindly letters printed in the earlier part of the present biography. And there is every reason for believing that the old feeling was cherished in spite of divergent views and misunderstandings. There are those who can bear witness that Cardinal Manning was comforted by anything that seemed to draw them together,

and deeply pained by anything that cast doubt on his friendship. When, during his absence in Rome in 1879, it became known that Dr. Newman was to be made a Cardinal, the Oblates of St. Charles ventured to send an address expressing their congratulations. And in a private letter to Father Cuthbert Robinson, who was our Superior at that time, Cardinal Manning wrote, "I am most glad that you sent the address to Dr. Newman." As a pleasing token of the way in which Newman was held in affectionate reverence by the immediate disciples of Manning, it may be added that Father Robinson accompanied the address of the community by a letter which elicited a very cordial reply. With characteristic humility, the illustrious Oratorian wrote: "I feel myself unworthy of being treated with such great consideration and such signs of attachment, yet they are so pleasant that I cannot refuse them."

If Mr. Purcell's second volume is too full of conflict and controversy in its earlier pages, the latter portion of it is pervaded by an air of tragic gloom which is, in some sense, yet more distressing. It would almost seem as though the author felt compelled by some artistic instinct to deepen the shadows as the story draws to its close. There is a pathetic picture of the Cardinal's last visit to Rome, which is represented as the end of the most important part of his career. And the tragic effect is enhanced by the publication of a painful paper dealing with a trial before the Holy Office, and containing some very bitter reflections on the law's delays. Of all the documents printed in these volumes, this is probably the least fitted to see the light. And it is significant that it reflects no discredit on Cardinal Manning himself. Now we take leave to say that the Roman career of the Cardinal did not really end with his last visit to the Eternal City. His voice was still heard there, and his influence was felt on more than one occasion in the years that yet remained to him. Mr. Purcell himself surmises that this was the case in Cardinal Gibbons's struggle for the Knights of Labour. And there is reason to believe that he was consulted in the matter of the Papal Encyclical on the Working Classes, and some even consider that his hand may be traced in the wording of one passage of its text.

This, however, is a question of degree. And if the writer means that Manning's work in Roman affairs was not what it

had been, for instance, in the time of the Council, few will be likely to gainsay him. It would be far more difficult to put a reasonable construction on his language about the "isolation" of Cardinal Manning's last years.

As the rays of the setting sun disclose swarms of gnats buzzing and blinding, so a swarm of insects in the moral order—fanatics or visionaries or professional agitators, or creatures of a baser sort, social reformers battenning on moral garbage, or eavesdroppers big with gossip or guess-work—surrounded the setting sun of Cardinal Manning's life, deafening his ears for a time and blinding his eyes.

And again,

Cardinal Manning's isolation, cut off from communings with the outer world, from converse with men of common-sense and wholesome mind, in his lonely old age, was touching and pathetic in the extreme.

Mercifully, we are reminded that he still had the consolations of religion.

Mr. Purcell has made a vigorous protest against idealised biography. But his German studies might have reminded him that some of the foremost idealists are pessimists. And this pessimistic picture of his is eminently unreal. To borrow his own words on this very page, "At the first touch of reality, all these visionary theories vanish like the baseless fabric of a dream" (*sic*).* Which are these years of "isolation?" From the fact that the biographer talks in the same fashion about "isolation" and "absence of contact with men of sound sense and sober judgment and knowledge of the reality of things," when he is dealing with the agitation of 1885, we may take it that he is including the last six or seven years at the very least. Yet within these years, Mr. Purcell himself being witness, Cardinal Manning is found having intercourse with the Prince of Wales, and the leading statesmen of both parties, sitting on Royal Commissions, attending deputations to ministers, and meetings at the Mansion House, and entering into discussion with Mr. Boulton and Sir R. Giffen. This was surely a case of "splendid isolation."

As for the Cardinal's association with Mr. Stead in his agitation of 1885, which is apparently the cause of this extra-

* Vol. ii. p. 716.

vagant language, it may be well to remind the reader of the fact that other men of high position and character, besides Cardinal Manning, took part in the much abused committee, and the opinions of excellent men are still divided on this question. When the biographer talks of "every man of right mind," it is only a case of *sapiunt quia sentiunt mecum*. And if he does not really think that the agitator's name would defile his book, it is a pity that he should use this expression on p. 653; while if he *does* think so, it is a pity that he should so far forget himself as to print the name on p. 714.

As we have already observed, the book has, happily, many brighter pages; and even in the midst of these painful and misleading utterances about the "isolation" of the Cardinal's closing years, there is a pleasing record of some at least of the good works he was then doing for the labourers, and the poor, and the helpless. The reader who will only take the trouble to see for himself, and pay more heed to the facts than to the writer's criticisms and opinions and prejudices, may see the grand figure of the aged Cardinal through the mists which the biographer has succeeded in raising around him.

Others besides Mr. Purcell have expressed their disagreement from some of Cardinal Manning's views and acts in this last stage of his career. And without accepting the gloomy picture here presented, they still feel or fancy that something was wanting—*aliquid desideravere oculi*. These may find comfort in thinking of him as he was in those earlier days when he stood forth as the strenuous champion of the Holy See and one of the foremost fathers in a great Council of the Church.

But for us at any rate, and we would fain hope for many more of the younger generation, those closing years will ever seem the best and the brightest. And looking at his own ideal of the pastor's office, we feel that his days were ended in the midst of the work and the surroundings which he would have chosen for himself—to die as he had lived, in the midst of the poor, working for them to the last, and drawing their hearts to him then more than ever. If the book before us, whether directly by the truth that is in it, or indirectly by provoking reaction against its harsh judgments and criticisms,

leads any one to see better the true meaning of that life and its lessons, it will do some good in spite of all its failings. And in any case, there is no need to regard its appearance with fear or misgivings. For the moment, it may stir up strife and cause some passing pain, and some scandal to the weak and the wayward. But in the end the truth shall surely triumph. And when this painful and imperfect picture is faded and forgotten, the memory of the real Cardinal Manning—the servant of the Holy Spirit—the pattern of the priesthood—and the father of the poor—will still live in the heart of Catholic England.

W. H. KENT, O.S.C.

Science Notices.

The Great Red Spot on Jupiter.—During the last opposition astronomers have had exceptionally good opportunities of studying Jupiter. Mr. N. E. Green, who has made no less than 156 drawings of the planet, contributed a very fine specimen to the January number of *Knowledge*.

The great red spot, calculated to be no less than 30,000 miles long and nearly 7000 wide, is still one of the most interesting and mysterious objects on the surface of the planet. The brick-red colour which marked its first observation in 1878 has, however, now faded, suggesting that its dissolution may not be very far distant. But while its colour has been gradually fading its outline has been, for the seventeen years of its certain existence, peculiarly stable, a fact which has sorely puzzled astronomers. In the same number of *Knowledge* in which Mr. Green's drawing appears, Mr. Walter Maunder makes a suggestive comment on the persistency of the spot.

One theory is that the great spot is a glimpse of the real solid surface of the planet which is conceived to underlie the glowing atmosphere enveloping it. Mr. Maunder insists that such a theory is unsound. The inconstancy of the rotation period of the spot points to this. It has been found that in seven years the rotation period lengthened by seven seconds, showing that the formation had moved eastward. Thus it would seem that for the explanation of the spot we must look to the atmosphere of the planet.

Surrounding the spot there is a white region. This appears to be due to clouds at a higher level. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that the gap in the Jovian clouds determines the shape of the spot. It has been observed that the hue of the spot is similar to that of the ruddy equatorial belt, and it appears very probable that were the white cloud masses removed the whole of the planet would appear of the same dark red colour as characterised the red spot during the earlier years of its existence.

The Newly-discovered Rays.—The recent photographic researches of Professor Röntgen have literally convulsed the scientific world, for they overthrow some of its most established ideas, and call for a new arrangement of optical fact. That the transparency and

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opacity of substances to light waves is a matter of degree, has long been recognised, and we have known that a body that is practically opaque allows some light to pass through it. But now we are confronted with rays which penetrate all substances with a greater ease than ordinary light waves, though the actual transparency of opacity of a substance is in their case also a question of degree.

The human eye is not affected by this remarkable radiation, but the photographic plate is susceptible to its influence. Hence the world has been startled by the announcement that if any portion of the human body is placed between the source of these rays and a photographic plate, a shadowgraph is produced on the plate revealing the skeleton stripped of flesh and muscle. Several examples of skeleton hands have already appeared in the various scientific journals, though none are as perfect as the original one produced by Professor Röntgen.

To take a medical aspect of the discovery, it will no doubt increase the possibilities of surgery an hundredfold. Already by means of these searching rays a bullet has been found in a man's body, and much of what was before guesswork becomes clear vision. Thus unnecessary operations can be avoided.

The discovery will be eagerly made use of by the medical profession, since the process involves no risk. But apart from its obvious medical uses, this mysterious radiation is of intense interest to the physicist, as it opens out an entirely new field of research. Perhaps Professor Schuster is not exaggerating the importance of the discovery in thinking that it ranks with that of the electric current or the polarisation of light.

The source of these extraordinary rays is a Crooke's vacuum tube through which an electric discharge from a large induction coil is passing. The opticians who have been wont to sell these tubes as mere scientific curiosities, have been of late literally besieged by photographers, eager to dabble in the new photography.

A paper screen covered on one side with barium platinocyanide lights up with brilliant phosphorescence when brought near the tube. Paper seems to be exceedingly transparent. The fluorescent surface lights up when placed behind a book of one thousand pages, the printer's ink offering no appreciable resistance. The fluorescence is visible behind a pack of cards. The rays also penetrate tin-foil, a single thickness casting hardly any shadow on the screen. Even thick blocks of wood are transparent. Boards of pine two or three centimetres thick absorb very little. Thus it is possible to take shadowgraphs of objects without removing the sensitive plate from its protecting case, and objects can be photographed inside a box or

cupboard. Curiously enough glass, so transparent to ordinary light, has not a very high degree of transparency to these rays. It is found, however, that glass free from lead is much more transparent than glass that contains it. Thin plates of copper, silver, lead, gold, and platinum allow the rays to pass, but it only requires lead to be 1·5 mm. thick to render it practically opaque.

It seems that the density of bodies mainly determines their transparency; though this cannot be the only determining property, since when plates of similar thickness of Iceland spar, glass, aluminium, and quartz are employed, the Iceland spar was much less transparent than the other bodies, though of approximately the same density.

Professor Röntgen has taken several photographs with the rays. Besides the skeleton hand, a striking one is a compass card and needle completely enclosed in a metal case. Mr. Swinton has been one of the first to reproduce these effects in this country. Amongst the most successful shadowgraphs he has produced is one showing the coins inside a purse, the material of which the purse is made being transparent to the rays. A very curious specimen is a razor photographed through the case and handle, the faintest shadow representing the latter.

The rays, unlike those of ordinary light, do not appear to be susceptible of refraction. Professor Röntgen has tried experiments with a view of ascertaining whether the rays can be deflected by a prism. Mica prisms of 30° filled with water and carbon bisulphide caused no deviation either on the photographic plate or fluorescent screen. The non-refractive property of the rays also appear to be proved by passing them through finely powdered bodies in thick layers. In the case of ordinary light they allow but little of the incident light to pass through, in consequence of refraction and reflection. In the case of the rays under investigation, they penetrated the finely powdered body just as if it were the coherent solid. The substance chosen for the powders were rock salt, fine electrolytic silver powder, and zinc dust. On account of the absence of the refractive property, lenses are incapable of concentrating the rays. The photographs taken are therefore merely shadows. The experiment showing the transparency of powders seems to indicate that there is also no regular reflection with these rays.

Hittorf was the first to call attention to the effects produced in the inner dark space surrounding the cathode of a highly exhausted vacuum tube, through which an electric discharge is passing. It was, however, Professor Crookes who developed and expanded the dark space phenomena. He showed that in this space there are peculiar rays which have been called cathode rays. These rays have been found capable of impressing a photographic plate and producing

various calorific and mechanical effects. Hertz discovered that these rays passed through thin metal which obscured those of ordinary light. Mr. Philip Lenard made an advance on Hertz's experiments by making a small opening in the vacuum tube and covering it with a piece of aluminium-foil. The cathode rays passed through the aluminium window, and phosphorescent bodies glowed brilliantly when held some feet away. Dry plates were blackened in a few seconds. These experiments have led some to suggest that Professor Röntgen's rays are the previously discovered cathode rays, and that he has only been making more widely known the work of Crookes, Hertz and Lenard. But though the originality of Professor Röntgen's researches is not isolated, yet there is much that is undoubtedly original in these investigations. In fact, he shows that the mysterious rays are not the cathode rays. The latter are deflected by a magnet, but Professor Röntgen's rays are not deflected even in a very strong magnetic field. But though the rays are evidently not cathode rays, the Professor thinks the former are produced from the latter at the glass surface of the tube. The most important question now before the scientific world is, what is the nature of these rays? Are they due to ultra-violet light, since, like the latter, they excite phosphorescence and chemical action? The discoverer does not incline to the view that they are ultra-violet rays; he thinks that it is unlikely that an ultra-violet radiation should not be refracted, reflected, or polarised. The following is his hypothesis concerning them:

"A kind of relationship between the new rays and light rays appears to exist: at least the formation of shadows, fluorescence, and the production of chemical action point to this direction. Now it has been known for a long time that, besides the transverse vibrations which account for the phenomena of light, it is possible that longitudinal vibrations should exist in the ether, and, according to the view of some physicists, must exist. It is granted that their existence has not yet been made clear, and their properties are not experimentally demonstrated. Should not the new rays be ascribed to longitudinal waves in the ether?"

It is doubtful whether this theory will find universal acceptance. Professor Schuster has indeed already questioned whether Professor Röntgen's prompt dismissal of the idea of their being ultra-violet rays is justifiable. Though he admits the absence of the refractive property is a very strong argument against supposing the rays to belong to the ultra-violet region of the spectrum, yet he does not think it conclusive.

"When we speak of the size of atoms, we mean their distance in the solid and liquid state. The properties of the ether may remain unaltered within the greater part of the sphere of action of a molecule. The

number of molecules lying within a wave length of ordinary light is not greater than the number of motes which lie within a sound wave, but, as far as I know, the velocity of sound is not materially affected by the presence of dust in the air. Hence there seems nothing impossible in the supposition that light waves, smaller than those we know of, may traverse solids with the same velocity as a vacuum. We know that absorption bands greatly affect the refractive index in neighbouring regions, and as probably the whole question of reflection resolves itself into one of resonance effects, the rate of propagation of waves of very small length does not seem to me to be prejudged by our present knowledge. If Röntgen's rays contain waves of very small length, the vibrations in the molecules which respond to them would seem to be of a different order of magnitude from those so far known. Possibly we have here the vibration of the electron within the molecule, instead of that of the molecule carrying with it that of the electron."

Retinal Photography.—The curious photographic experiments of Mr. W. Ingles Rogers, though they have not been so scientifically conducted as those of Professor Röntgen's, are of intense interest to the physicist and psychologist. By these experiments Mr. Rogers claims to have photographed thought. In his first experiment in September, 1894, he looked at a shilling intently for one minute. Then closing his eyes, he drew the yellow screen to exclude all actinic light from the room, and, placing a photographic plate in position, leant back in his chair and fixed his eyes upon its centre, allowing nothing but the image of the shilling to occupy his mind. He remained in this attitude for forty-three minutes. After two days he developed the plate, and found upon it the faint outline of a shilling. The next experiment was conducted before a select committee under the personal supervision of a medical man. This time a postage-stamp was chosen as the object. This was fixed on a black card. The indistinctness of the reproduction of the shilling in the first experiment is ascribed to the coin not having been accurately focussed in comparison with the distance between the eyes and the plate. It is necessary, therefore, for the plate and the object to be in the same plane and at the same distance from the eye. In the second experiment a folding stereoscope was used as a guide for the eyes. First, Mr. Rogers focussed a stereo-slide in the usual way by looking at it through the lenses. The distance between the lenses and the slide was about six or eight inches. Then he removed the lenses of the stereoscope, and placed the black card on which was affixed the stamp in the position previously occupied by the stereo-slide. The stamp was then looked at through the apertures of the stereoscope under gaslight for one minute. At the end of this time the eyes were closed, the lights turned down, the card with the postage-stamp removed, and the photographic plate substituted for it.

Then Mr. Rogers looked at the plate for twenty minutes, thinking of nothing except the postage-stamp. This process of mental concentration is described by the experimenter as a painful ordeal. At the conclusion of the task his eyes streamed with water and his head throbbed violently. Then the plate was developed, and this time—a larger plate having been used than in the first experiment—there was seen to be two images on the plate, reproducing the postage-stamp perfectly and clearly. This psychogram, as Mr. Rogers calls it, certainly competes in interest with the now famous skeleton hand of Professor Röntgen. It has been reproduced in the *Amateur Photographer* of November 22, 1895.

Since it is the image on the retina of the eye which by means of a connecting mechanism stimulates the brain to perceive the object which cast it, it is not unreasonable to imagine that in certain cases the brain can by a reflex action so stimulate the retina as to reproduce on it the image. It seems probable that such a reproduction has been accomplished in Mr. Rogers' experiment, and that from the retina the image was transferred to the photographic plate. It has been objected that the original image was probably photographed before its persistence had faded from the retina, and the following incident might seem to support this theory. In the *British Journal of Photography* for January 25, 1889, there is a paper read before the London and Provincial Photographic Association by Mr. Friese Green, in which he describes how he looked steadily at a 2000 candle-power arc lamp for fifteen seconds, and then held a plate close to his eye for a minute or more. Under a microscope a distinct image of the arc could be seen on the negative. But the cases are hardly parallel. The duration of the persistent image would be much longer when the retina is stimulated by such an intense light as the electric arc than it is when an object is looked at by a light of moderate power. If in the case of Mr. Rogers' experiment the image depicted on the plate is merely produced by the persisting image on the retina, the experimenter must have eyes with abnormal persisting powers. In the case of the first experiment it is mentioned that after gazing at the shilling for a minute he shut his eyes, drew the yellow screen, placed the plate in position, leant back in his chair. These various operations must have taken sufficient time to exhaust the normal retentive powers of a retina merely stimulated by a moderate reflected light.

Mr. Rogers would have fortified his position better if he had experimented in a somewhat more exhaustive manner. He might, for instance, have supplemented the experiments described above by arranging matters so that he could look at a shilling or a postage-stamp for a certain time, and then have the object almost instantaneously

replaced by the sensitive plate, in this case making no special mental concentration. If in consequence of this experiment the image was impressed upon the plate, it might reasonably be supposed it was due to persistence. But this one experiment would not prove that in the former experiment the images are not due to a reflex action of the brain. It might easily be arranged to time the substitution of plates for the object at gradually increasing intervals, and if an interval arrived when the plate failed to be impressed, this interval falling short of the interval between the exposure to the eye and exposure to the plate of the shilling and postage-stamp in the previous experiments, the fact would substantiate Mr. Rogers' opinion that he has produced brain pictures on his photographic plates.

Horseless Carriages.—The movement in favour of horseless carriages is at the present moment attracting more public attention than any other engineering topic. The revival of interest in an industry entirely crushed by the Locomotive Acts of 1861 and 1863, is due to the recent introduction of autocars in France and other countries, where there are no restrictions as to their use. The British nation, which has long boasted of being foremost in all that relates to locomotion, is writhing under the law which denies to it the privileges enjoyed by our neighbours, and places it in the rear of progress. As matters stand in this country at present, an autocar is a useless commodity. By the Act of 1863 the number of persons required to drive it is no less than three, the speed must not be more than four miles an hour, and a man must precede each vehicle with a red flag. When such a light vehicle as an electric bicycle falls within these regulations, it is evident that the age has outgrown an Act, perhaps necessary for regulating the noisy and unwieldy machines of some forty years ago, but ridiculous in the present age. In spite of these stringent regulations a few daring persons have ventured on the highways with carriages propelled by various forms of power, but in every case they have been dealt with according to the law, and though generally only nominally fined, prevented from continuing to use their carriages. A vigorous attempt is now being made to bring about the needed reform, and there is every prospect of a complete revolution in street and road locomotion. Mr. Shaw Lefevre introduced a measure last year for the purpose of removing the restrictions, but unfortunately for the cause the Government went out of office before the second reading, so the Bill was lost. Another Bill is expected to be brought forward this session.

The earliest steam carriage was constructed in 1770 by Cugnot, whose machine can still be seen in the Arts et Métiers in Paris. In 1781 Murdock, who was a workman in the factory of Boulton and Watt, made a model steam car which ran along the roads and lanes. These efforts were followed by many others. In 1786 Symington, who made the first practical steam-boat ever built, took out a patent for a steam-carriage. Amongst the inventors who made most progress towards any practical success at the end of the eighteenth century was Trevethick. He first advocated high-pressure steam, and made a carriage which ran several journeys about London, though we may presume the machine was an uncomfortable, noisy, and inconvenient substitute for the horse-drawn coaches of those days.

Nearly a quarter of a century passed without much progress being made. Then the subject was taken up afresh, and several carriages brought out. The most prominent inventors were Hancock, Russell, Redmund, Roberts, and Hill. The history of the road locomotive is fully chronicled in Fletcher's "Steam on Common Roads."

It is owing to the enterprise of the editor of the *Petit Journal* that interest has been rekindled in horseless carriages. In July 1894 he organised the first race between horseless vehicles, offering substantial prizes to the winners. In the next year he arranged the long race of seven hundred miles from Paris to Bordeaux, which was won by M. Pageot's petroleum carriage. Owing to the enterprise of Sir David Salomons, who is an enthusiast on the subject, an exhibition of horseless carriages was held last autumn at Tunbridge Wells, and the public are promised early opportunities of inspecting the latest departures in the coming industry at the exhibitions to be held this summer at the Imperial Institute and Crystal Palace. The movement will be also helped forward by the competition under the auspices of the *Engineer* to take place later on in the year.

In horseless carriages the motive power is at present of three alternative kinds; 1, steam; 2, petroleum; 3, electricity. In the carriage of the near future there will probably be a keen rivalry between the two first-mentioned powers. The latter power, though it is unquestionably the fittest source of power for the purpose from many points of view, and in the end must therefore survive, is as yet hardly sufficiently developed to hold its own with steam and petroleum, especially when the carriages are required for long-distance work.

Unquestionably the best steam-carriage yet developed is that of M. Serpollet. His boiler is composed of tubes squeezed inwards. They are heated almost red-hot and the water is introduced by driblets. It is therefore a purely instantaneous generation boiler, the tubes being capable of withstanding the heat in the furnace, whether there is water

in them or not. The engine can therefore be stopped by simply disconnecting the supply of water. This nice regulation of steam gets over one of the chief difficulties that has hitherto stood in the way of steam-carriages. Mr. H. H. Cunningham, however, in his recent paper on the subject at the Society of Arts, questions whether the tubes will be kept from being burnt when there is no water in the tube, and suggests that the burning of very hot iron tubes might be prevented by surrounding them with platinum-foil. In the boiler of the Serpollet carriage a pressure of about 300 lbs. is carried. The engine consists of a pair of horizontal cylinders, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches stroke, the crankshaft being connected to the driving wheels by means of pitch chains. The exhaust steam passes into the chamber above the fire-space and so passes away into the chimney in a superheated condition, so that it is generally invisible, the discharge taking place underneath the carriage. There is space for a storage of coke sufficient for a journey of forty miles. The water tank, however, has to be re-filled several times in that distance. The pump used for injecting the driblets of water into the boiler tubes is about 1 inch in diameter and of very short stroke, about $\frac{3}{4}$ inch.

The special advantages of such a steam-carriage appear to be the smallness and lightness of the motor, and the possibilities of increasing the speed easily when hills have to be surmounted. It is said that steep hills can be ascended at a speed of fifteen miles an hour. No such results can be obtained with petroleum motors. With reference to steam-carriages, it has been suggested that Mr. Maxim's light boilers which he has developed for his flying machines might be invaluable for the less ambitious, though at any rate more immediately practical, purpose of a road carriage. His boiler consists of a great number of upper tubes $\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch in diameter and $\frac{1}{60}$ of an inch thick. It has 800 square feet of heating surface, capable of evaporating 16,000 lbs. of water into steam in one hour. The boiler is heated by gas vaporised from naphtha. The weight of boiler, motor, condenser, tank, &c., when boiler and tank are filled with water, is only 11 or 12 lbs. per horse-power.

In the races, the most successful carriages have been those propelled by petroleum engines. The action of a petroleum engine depends upon the intimate mixing of air with a small quantity of petroleum vapour. This is ignited, and a mild explosion occurs which impels the piston.

Petroleum is available in two forms--in the uninflammable heavy oils which we burn in lamps, and in the light, dangerously inflammable oils which ignite if a match is held six inches away from the surface. For a carriage it is undoubtedly safer to use the heavy oils; but an

obnoxious smell is inseparable from them, which militates against their adoption for private carriages. Foremost amongst the light-oil motors is the Daimler motor, which is used by M. Peugeot and Messieurs Panhard and Levassor in their carriages, and which secured the first and second prizes in the Paris-Bordeaux competition. In the Daimler motor the cylinder acts upon a heavily counter-weighted crank, the whole being inclosed in a thin iron case through which the shaft protrudes. This makes 700 revolutions per second. These carriages are very neat in appearance, the machinery being unobtrusive. The great disadvantage of petroleum engines is the fact that it is impossible to vary their speed to any considerable extent. To reduce the speed it is necessary to resort to contrivances for gearing them down. When a stoppage occurs the vibration caused by the revolution of the disconnected engine is almost intolerable. There is in all gas engines considerable heat generated, and it becomes necessary to cool the cylinder. The carriages therefore have to convey about thirty-five quarts of water for this purpose, which has to be renewed every two hours.

Besides petroleum carriages, there are several kinds of petroleum cycles. One of these is the invention of Mr. Pennington. The engine runs at 500 revolutions a minute. The piston-rod works directly on the hind wheel of the bicycle, which is carried forward at the rate of twenty miles per hour. Kerosine oil is used for the motor, the gas being ignited by the electric spark.

As regards electricity as a motive power for these horseless carriages, the only present available source of electric power to work the motor is electric accumulators. These are of considerable weight. To give a storage of $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 horse-power for ten hours it would be necessary to have thirty accumulators giving a current of 22 amperes. The weight of the accumulators would be $1\frac{1}{2}$ tons, which has to be added to the load in the carriage. In the Paris-Bordeaux competition M. Jeanteaud's electric carriage took part, but it was beaten by the benzoline motors. In this carriage the storage batteries are of the Fulmen make. The thirty-eight cells, placed under the hind seats, weigh 3 tons 3 cwt. The carriage has two seats, each holding two persons, and a third seat at the back. The weight of the motor is about $4\frac{1}{2}$ cwt. It can develop 14 horse-power or 15 horse-power when mounting inclines.

But even though the storage batteries are heavy and require frequent recharging and repairing, there is much to commend the electric carriage for a town vehicle even in its present crude stage of development. It is clean, safe, cool, noiseless, odourless, and easily controlled. There is no doubt it will be largely used by private persons in prefer-

ence to the other forms of mechanical carriages. The users of private carriages seldom require a continuous run of ten hours, and the above-mentioned advantages will counterbalance the disadvantage of weight. It is pretty certain that in the future legislation only moderate speeds will be allowed in the streets. When electric carriages become general the electric companies will be willing to supply greater facilities for recharging, and will no doubt supply the current for purposes of carriages at a much cheaper rate than they are now supplying it for light. They are now supplying electricity for cooking purposes at a special low rate to encourage the greater consumption of the current.

The advent of the horseless carriage will no doubt be welcome to a large section of the public who look forward to a service of automatic cabs with uniform speed. It will confer a real boon upon the agriculturist. It will then be possible for persons of limited means to keep a carriage of their own. If the Act is repealed, perhaps not the least thankful will be the medical practitioner, who, for the needs of his patients, wears and tears his horses at extravagant cost.

Notes of Travel and Exploration.

The Japanese Alps.—An interesting paper on the mountain system of Japan was read by the Rev. Walter Weston, M.A., at the meeting of the Royal Geographical Society on December 9. Its centre group is formed by the intersection of the two main ranges running through the archipelago in a north-easterly and south-westerly direction, in the centre of Hondo, the principal island, on the borders of the provinces of Hida and Shinshu. Here it is that the country attains its greatest amplitude, and the ranges, like waves at the meeting of cross currents, their highest elevation. Hence the name "Japanese Alps" applied to the range by European travellers. Volcanic in origin, as the numerous crater peaks with which it is studded testify, its formation consists of an axis of granitic rock, over which vast quantities of igneous materials have been poured at intervals. The finest outlines are furnished by Hodakayama, called, from its group of granite towers, "the mountain of the standing ears of corn," and Yarigatake, or "the Spear Peak," termed the Matterhorn of Japan. The hot springs of Tateyama are evidently a centre of seismic activity, as they are surrounded by a wilderness of boulders, sand, and stones. Jets of steam and sulphuretted hydrogen are sometimes emitted with a loud roar from some of these springs, called O Jigoku, or "Great Hell," and lumps of sulphurous material are projected to a distance of fifteen to twenty feet. The range constitutes an almost absolute barrier to communication, only one pass being found in a tract of fifty miles, and even here the road has been so damaged by avalanches and landslips as to be practically impassable. Two routes to the south, connecting the chief silk-producing regions, one of which is practicable for cattle, are those principally in use. The lowest level of permanent snow is at 7000 feet, although it lies in sheltered gullies some 1500 feet lower. No trace of glacial action has been found either here or elsewhere in Japan.

The Japanese Mountaineers.—The hot springs form the nuclei of bathing establishments, called yuba, or "hot water houses." Though usually sunk at the bottom of ravines, they are sometimes seen perched up on the side of a volcano. The temperature of the water varies from 100° to 130° F. So great is the passion of the people

for warm-water baths, that in one place known to the speaker, where the water was just at blood-heat, a man would remain in it for a month at a time, taking the precaution of placing a heavy stone on his knees to prevent him from floating or turning over in his sleep, and the caretaker of the establishment, an old man of seventy, stayed in the bath the whole winter. There is probably considerable mineral wealth stored in these ranges, and some silver and copper mines are being worked at an altitude of 7000 feet, from which about 140,000 lbs. of copper and 2500 of silver are extracted in the course of a year. The hunters of big game are a hardy class, and many valuable animals are objects of the chase. Among these is the kuma, or black bear, which sometimes grows to a length of six feet, and whose flesh, when smoked, is esteemed as a delicacy. Deer are also hunted, as well as badgers, valued both for their flesh and fur. The giant salamander, the most remarkable of the fauna found here, is fast dying out. The people of the plains at the foot of the mountains are almost all engaged in the culture of silkworms, a growing industry from the increasing number of manufactories in the towns.

Trips in the Syrian Desert.—Dr. Wright, author of “The Empire of the Hittites,” gives, in a beautifully illustrated volume, under the title “Zenobia and Palmyra” (London: Thomas Nelson, 1895), an interesting narrative of his experiences in trips to Palmyra and other historic sites in the desert round Damascus. His pictures of Bedawi raids on helpless travellers or villagers give a vivid idea of the insecurity of life and property in these outlying portions of the Turkish Empire, whose officials are, of course, in collusion with the thieves. The author’s own encounters with these picturesque cut-throats are narrated by him with much verve and spirit, and, being well armed and mounted, he generally managed to get the better of them. Not so the poor peasants, who are doubly and trebly fleeced by the Turkish officials under the name of taxes, and by the Arabs under the name of “brotherhood,” or blackmail, while neither class of payment secures them any immunity from periodical robbery at the hands of the latter. The fields are only cultivated within musket-shot of the settlements, and the population of these is dwindling away, from emigration to happier lands. Under other conditions much of the land could be made to yield abundant harvests, and irrigation would enable large tracts, now waste, to be reclaimed.

Desert of the Lejah.—Some of the author's wanderings in search of the ruined sites of the ancient land of Bashan led him round that singular basaltic formation, the Lejah. Rising to a height of twenty or thirty feet above the plain to the south of Damascus, the scarp of the lava desert resembles a black sea-coast, jutting out into promontories, indented with bays and creeks, with all its headlands crowned with ruined towers, and the remains of hamlets like fishing villages nestling in all its gulfs and clefts. Yet the centre of the plateau contains a good deal of arable land, and nearly everywhere shows traces of ancient cultivation up to its rugged edges, where the lavatide is petrified into great billows like those of a stormy sea. The ruins found at Bosra and other abandoned centres of habitation were those left by the Roman domination.

Settlement of Chitral.—The occupation of Chitral was declared by Lord George Hamilton, in answer to a question in the House of Commons on February 17, to have more than realised the most sanguine anticipations. It is welcomed by the people as affording them security, and has put an end to slavery and the abduction of women of the poorer classes. The country proves to have greater agricultural possibilities than were ascribed to it, enabling the large supplies required for the garrison to be obtained on the spot, and the traces of irrigation works, many hundred years old, show that the area of cultivation may be largely extended. The military road connecting it with Peshawar, in parts as good as an English turnpike, is carried over the rivers by excellent bridges. It is guarded by local levies paid by the Government, and the increase in the number of caravans using it shows that trade will develop with security of communications. The country, which at one time supported a much larger population than it now does, may again be restored to its former prosperity. The inhabitants, so far from retaining any feeling of ill-will towards the British conquerors, requested to be permanently incorporated in British territory, and when this was declared to be impossible, were desirous of sending a special mission to Simla to ask the Viceroy to reconsider his decision. The necessity for keeping open the Gilgit road through a country so barren that all supplies had to be brought up from Kashmir, will now be obviated, as that outpost is rendered accessible by a shorter and easier route, passable at all seasons of the year, instead of only during seven months, as was the road on the left bank of the Indus.

Across the Atlas to the Oasis of Taflet.—Mr. Walter Harris's new volume ("Taflet." By Walter Harris. Blackwood, 1895) is the result of an adventurous journey through the interior of Morocco, in native dress and in the character of a Mohammedan. Landing at Saffi on the Atlantic coast, Marakesh, the city of Morocco, was reached after a ride of 100 miles through a country which though then, in the month of October, a dreary waste, would be in the spring a waving field of corn. The yellow-walled city, with its girdle of luxuriant palm-groves, and its horizon, with the snows of Atlas soaring 12,000 feet above it, was entered on the fifth day, and thence the little caravan, consisting of the author and some native companions, started for the mountains, crossing them by a rough bridle-path leading over a pass some 8000 feet high. A few Berber villages, picturesquely situated, overhanging the defiles with turreted castles and walls, recalling the general aspect of the mountain villages of Tuscany, though not stone, but bricks of sun-dried mud are the material employed in their architecture. The race inhabiting them, supposed to represent the original inhabitants of North Africa, is found in the highlands from Tripoli to the Atlantic, and has a type markedly different from that of the Arabs, while still farther removed from that of the negro. The Berber has, in general, an aquiline nose with high cheek-bones, and is often fair-complexioned and sometimes blue-eyed. The innumerable tribes into which they are divided are united in their hatred of the Arab, but in nothing else. Not only does tribe war against tribe, but village against village, and even household against household, neighbours firing on each other from roof and housetop whenever occasion offers. Their life is in this respect like that led in the Italian cities in the Middle Ages, when each house was a fortress with towers to hurl down stones and arrows on those adjoining it. The system by which travellers are enabled to proceed in safety through districts whose inhabitants are engaged in reciprocal assassination and robbery, is that of providing him with a member of the tribe as escort, called "zitat," to see him safe through its territory, when he is furnished with a similar guardian by the next tribe. The Jews live among the Berbers under the shelter of an hereditary protectorate, by which each has a Berber patron, who avenges his injuries as though done to himself. The language of the Berbers is broken up into a variety of dialects, and their architecture, with its massive castellated style, is totally different from any of that of the Arabs. Although fanatical Mahomedans, their women enjoy complete liberty, and as polygamy is rare among them, their family life conforms to the European ideal. The tribes are distinguished by the fashion of cutting the hair, and two of those in the Atlas cultivate a long

lock, grown from the centre of the head and from above one ear respectively. It is a curious fact that this latter peculiarity is still a distinctive of the *Mafsa* of Sicily, where African blood is so considerable an element in the population, and that a similar pendant lock distinguished the Italian bravoes in the Middle Ages.

Last Journey of the late Sultan of Morocco.—Taflet, the remote oasis in the Sahara, which was the goal of Mr. Harris's expedition, is the dynastic home of the present Sultans of Morocco. Hence his late Shereefian Majesty, Mulai Hassen, undertook, in the summer and autumn of 1893, a long and disastrous pilgrimage to pray at the tomb of his ancestor, Ali Shereef, who established a hereditary sovereignty there in 1628. A strip of irrigated land some forty or fifty miles in length by ten in width, the oasis contains the palm-groves producing the most famous dates in Africa, while six or seven scattered groups of modern Arab and Berber dwellings have taken the place of the once important city of Sijilmessa, ruined during the last century. The encampment of the Sultan without the walls accommodated a population of some 40,000 souls, and in this canvas city the author, then dangerously ill, was reluctantly and after many delays assigned a dwelling, on his arrival there in November 1893.

The journey of this great multitude to Taflet in the autumn had been a sufficiently trying one, from the inadequacy of supplies, but the return across the Atlas in the depth of winter over snow-bound passes 8000 feet high, reduced it to the half-starved horde of men and animals, whose entry into Morocco was witnessed by Mr. Harris three weeks after their start from the oasis. The Sultan himself looked the picture of suffering when he left Morocco for Fez in the month of May, with his life sapped by a complication of maladies. His death, which occurred during the journey on June 6, 1894, was kept as long as possible a secret, and his remains were borne along in his litter with all the accustomed pomp, while trusty messengers were despatched to the capitals to proclaim the accession of his young son, Mulai Abdul Aziz. As soon as the news became known in the camp, all military cohesion was lost, and it split up into groups formed by the mutually hostile tribes, whose animosities had previously been kept in check under the shadow of the royal authority. When Rabat was reached, on June 17, the state of the remains rendered their hasty interment by night a matter of necessity, and the body of Mulai el Hassen, borne through a hole bored in the walls, since a corpse is not allowed to enter by the gate of a Moorish city, was buried in the mosque covering the tomb of one of his ancestors.

British Guiana and its Resources.—A little monograph on British Guiana by the author of "Sardinia and its Resources," gives in a convenient form all necessary information about a colony brought into sudden prominence by its boundary quarrel with Venezuela. Its area, as shown on existing maps, is about 110,000 square miles, or nearly that of the United Kingdom, but would be reduced to somewhere near a third of this were the Venezuelan claim admitted. Cultivation exists only on a strip of a few miles in width along the sea-coast, where 80,000 acres are planted with sugar-cane and an equal extent is under grass; while the interior, mostly covered with dense forest, is quite undeveloped, and to a large extent unexplored. The population, numbered at over 280,000 in the census of 1891, is very mixed, and there are but 16,000 whites, of whom 4000 are English, and the remainder Portuguese from Madeira and the Azores. These latter, originally plantation hands, now monopolise the petty trade of the colony, are the largest owners of property except the sugar-planters, and are proprietors of almost all the market-gardens round the capital. The negroes have prospered since their emancipation, and the majority have now become gold-diggers, but they are also to be found in every trade and occupation. Some have attained to prominent positions in law and medicine, and they are treated as on a footing of perfect equality with the whites. Indian coolies form a section of the population, and Chinese, numbering 3500, another. The native Indians, estimated at 10,000, live in the interior, and are divided into two classes, those who live in permanent dwellings on the banks of the rivers, acting as boatmen, wood-cutters, or fishermen, and those who lead a nomadic life, wandering over the Guianas and the adjoining portions of Venezuela and Brazil. Their food consists of the produce of their bows and arrows, with cassava bread, the preparation of which from the tubers of the manioc, forms the chief occupation of the women. The planting of these roots, and of yams and capsicums, is the only form of cultivation practised by them. The Caribs are almost extinct, and the other coast tribes have become semi-civilised, but those of the interior still retain their primitive customs, and retire into the backwoods before the advance of the white man. The death-rate among their children is very high, and they are consequently doomed to extinction.

Sugar and Gold.—The littoral zone of British Guiana, comprising all its cultivated portion, may be described as a tropical Holland, consisting mainly of "empoldered lands," as they are called, below high-water level, and protected from the sea by dykes and

embankments. The supply of water is regulated by an elaborate system of canals and sluices, serving both for drainage and transport. The sugar estates vary in size from 300 to 3000 acres, and are cultivated entirely by hand labour, as the intersecting waterways prevent the use of oxen, and no machinery for cane-cutting is sufficiently cheap and efficient to displace the cutlass-shaped knife wielded by the coolies. A well-managed plantation will produce about a ton and half of sugar and half a puncheon of rum per acre, the work being done almost entirely by East Indian coolies imported to the number of 5000 to 6000 annually. The coolie villages on some of the larger plantations number between 2000 and 3000 inhabitants, all well treated, and cared for under Government supervision. The bulk of them remain in the colony when their five years' engagement terminates, although they are then entitled to a free passage home. The loss of caste of those who return is compensated for by the substantial savings they carry with them, amounting, it is calculated, to an aggregate of three million dollars during the forty-five years since the account has been kept. Gold-mining has been always discouraged by the sugar-planters, and was absolutely prohibited by the Dutch at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Hence the backwardness of the industry in the country where the mythical El Dorado, paved with gold, with its golden lake and mountain, was situated. The gold hitherto obtained is exclusively that yielded by alluvial deposits now being worked along the upper waters of all the principal rivers, by the rudest and most primitive methods. They generally lie at a depth varying from a few inches to 15 feet, and are found under a stratum of sand and pebbles embedded in tenacious brown clay, evidently the result of the disintegration of the higher rocky formations. That reef gold also exists, probably in large quantities, has been proved by experimental operations undertaken on the Barima and Demerara rivers, where fairly rich veins of auriferous quartz have been struck. All mining enterprise in British Guiana is financed in the colony, whose mines do not figure in European speculation.

Natural Wonders.—Mount Roraima, just on the Venezuelan border, deserves to rank as one of the wonders of the world. This singular formation uplifts, to a height of 9000 feet above sea-level, an upland plain with a nearly flat surface, occupying an area of 30 square miles. Its summit is girt with a vertical cliff 1500 feet high, over which the streams after rain fling themselves in numerous cascades. Although nearly inaccessible, it has been scaled by Mr. Everard Im

Thurn, by whose description it is principally known. The second remarkable natural feature of the colony is the great cataract known as the Falls of Kaieteur, in which the Potaro river, tributary to the Essequibo, flings its whole volume of 500 cubic metres per second over a sheer cliff 800 feet high. The gorge, clothed with the richest tropical vegetation, presents a curious spectacle at dusk, as thousands of swallows then fly out of the forest at the top of the fall, and dart to the bottom with such velocity as to dazzle and bewilder the eye.

New Route to the Canadian North-West.—Colonel Harris, in a lecture at the Imperial Institute, dilated on the advantages of the new route to Manitoba *via* Hudson's Bay. A line of railway is in course of construction from Winnipeg to Seafalls, where it will join the line connecting that point with Port Churchill on the great northern inlet. By this route a saving of 1328 miles would be effected in the distance from Liverpool to San Francisco and Vancouver, while freights would be cheapened to the extent of £3 to £4 per head on cattle, and £1 per ton on cereals. This line has, however, the serious disadvantage of being closed by ice for more than half the year, and when its possibilities were discussed some time ago, it was considered doubtful whether it would remain open late enough to let the harvest pass through in the same season.

Notices of Books.

Recollections of Scottish Episcopalianism. By Father HUMPHREY, S.J. London: Thomas Baker. 1896.

HAVING been, what he used formerly to call, "A Missionary Priest in the Diocese of Brechin," Father Humphrey was eminently qualified to give some account of Protestant Episcopalianism in Scotland. Comparatively small as was the number of Anglican clergy in that country, they were divided into two distinct bodies—those under the Scotch Bishops, and those from England, who served chapels of their own, but were not, and would not be, subject to any Bishop. Even among the former, there was this subdivision, that some used the Scottish Communion Office, while others used the English Communion Service. Nearly forty years ago, Dr. Forbes, the Protestant Bishop of Brechin, was tried by his fellow-Bishops for propounding unsound doctrine concerning the Eucharist in a charge to his clergy, and was let off with a caution; but, when a Mr. Cheyne, of St. John's Church, Aberdeen, published some sermons in the following year, maintaining that "the incriminated doctrines were not mere permissible opinions," but that they "could not without heresy be denied," he was suspended and deposed from the ministry. Thereby the congregation of St. John's fell out of the frying-pan into the fire; for their new pastor was the Rev. Frederick George Lee, who introduced even "higher" doctrines, and still more "Popish" practices. Presently there was another disturbance; Mr. Lee had to leave St. John's and, accompanied by the more ritualistic part of his congregation, he betook himself to a new church, "which, however, the Bishop refused to license. The new venture turned out a financial failure, and Mr. Lee left Aberdeen."

All the Scottish clergy were not as Mr. Cheyne and Mr. Lee. The Warden of Glenalmond Theological College, although he "maintained a real and objective presence of the Body and Blood of Christ" in the Eucharist, habitually left "a litter of crumbs on and about the communion-table after his celebration of the Lord's Supper. A High Church member of the College . . . used to see the manciple, whose duty it was to sweep the sanctuary, to allow him to collect the crumbs after the service, and 'reverently consume' them." Another digni-

tary, who lived at the College of the Holy Ghost in the Isle of Cumbrae, also "held firmly the real and objective presence of Christ in the Eucharist, but [he] had fortified himself against the Roman error of Communion under one kind by his ingenious invention of a presence in the Eucharist of the Dead Christ, or of Christ as He was during the three days of His death. Since Christ's Blood was then separated from His Body, he argued the necessity of Communion under both kinds." Bishop Forbes was much "higher" than such as these. He used to try to consecrate holy oils and altar-stones. Father (then, of course, Mr.) Humphrey "used to go to the marble-cutters, and to the chemists, and procured the stones duly incised with five crosses, and the oil and balsam wherewith to make the chrism, and then the Bishop did his best with a Roman Pontifical."

Dr. Forbes, who "had not the most rudimentary conception of ecclesiastical jurisdiction," was "in the habit of exporting his holy oils and altar-stones into the dioceses of Bishops who would have regarded them as contraband." A high-church clergyman, equally vague on the question of jurisdiction, had had the misfortune to have the licenses of his ritualistic curates withdrawn by his Bishop. On the following Sunday he told his congregation what the Bishop had done, but he said that, although they could no longer perform the services in the church, they would be able to "hear confessions, that being a matter with which the Bishop had nothing whatever to do."

When Father Humphrey was about to be "ordained," he went to Dr. Forbes and confided to him his inclination to become a Catholic. Whereupon, Dr. Forbes remarked: "What a marvellous creation is the Roman Church—so strong at its extremities, and so rotten at its centre." "You will have to choose your party in the Roman Church. Either you will proclaim yourself a Gallican, and keep your reason—or you will give up your reason and attach yourself to Manning's party. If you join the Gallicans, you will expose yourself to a relentless persecution." And later he added: "Düllinger, their [the Catholics'] most learned historian and the greatest of their theologians, does not encourage individual secessions to Rome from the Church of England." If Mr. Humphrey must needs "go over," he would go with the Bishop's "best blessing;" but he would become "a Roman Catholic on the most Protestant of principles—by a deliberate exercise of [his] own private judgment." Father Humphrey was temporarily satisfied with these arguments; "the Bishop did his best to ordain" him, and he soon found himself a parson, stationed at the Cove, a fishing village, some four miles from Aberdeen. He mentions a curious traditional trace of the Catholic religion which he noticed there. All the fishermen, "on coming to a ruined bridge by the

sea-shore, took off their hats." He asked the reason; but they knew of none, except that it "had always been the custom." He "found out afterwards that on that bridge there had stood in old Catholic days a statue, if not a chapel, of our Lady."

Not the least interesting part of this very instructive and charming book, is the history of Father Humphrey's own conversion; but we have not space to notice it in detail. It must be sufficient for us to say that when, in answer to a question from Cardinal Manning, he had replied that he believed himself to have been in good faith while ministering as a clergyman in the Church of England, the Cardinal said: "I have never yet met with [a person] of whom I was certain that he was not in what seemed to him to be good faith, and I have never received a single person who could admit that he had been consciously ministering in bad faith."

The Constitutional History and Constitution of the Church of England. Translated from the German of FELIX MAKOWER, Barrister in Berlin. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Ltd. 1895.

STUDENTS of our ecclesiastical history, Catholics and Protestants alike, will find this volume of considerable use. The author, with that painstaking thoroughness characteristic of German scholarship, has crowded a mass of valuable information into a work which, so far as our recollection goes, is unique of its kind. The history of the constitution of the Church in England, Ireland and Scotland, from the introduction of Christianity, is first handled, and on the whole accurately and fairly enough for the purpose in view; the sources of ecclesiastical law are next indicated; the relation of the Church of England to other Christian bodies comes next under consideration; then the clergy and their orders: and, lastly, we are treated to an elaborate account of the several authorities in the Church, from kings and archbishops to parish clerks and beadles. In an appendix many valuable documents are given, in whole or in part; and an ample list of the best available sources of original information accessible in print brings the volume to a close. Should the student dissent, as a Catholic student often will, from the views put forth in the text of the work, he has, in the frequent and lengthy footnotes, the *ipsissima verba* of the authorities relied on by the author, and thus is in a position to correct or modify the views which recommend themselves to Herr Makower.

In much of the work Catholic scholars will, naturally, take little or no interest, the evolution of the present order of things in the Estab-

lished Church, the post-reformation enactments for ecclesiastical discipline in the heretical body which has usurped the place held for a thousand years by the Catholic Church in these realms, can have for us but a feeble and academic value. Nor is the history of the Establishment and its pathetic struggle for the maintenance of some shred of old authority and tradition, as told in the matter-of-fact pages of a Prussian barrister, a narrative to inspire even the most devoted of Anglicans with any particular enthusiasm.

In bondage to the State, the prey alternately of rival parties momentarily in power, dealt with, now caressingly, now harshly, but at all times masterfully, by the Government of the day, the Church of England as by law established has had, on the whole, as sad and chequered a career as its most energetic opponents could desire.

Though our author is, on the whole, an impartial observer, yet some of his *obiter dicta* give us good ground for complaint. Thus he says (p. 70):

The year 1580 saw the first Seminarists despatched to these shores. The object of those who came was to detach, outwardly as well as in inner feeling, the Papists of England from the national Church, and to organise them as a separate ecclesiastical community.

The "Papists" were "detached" enough already, if the record of the first twenty years of Elizabeth's reign speak the truth. Again, mindful of the bad faith and broken promises of James I. to his Catholic subjects, and the sufferings they underwent at his hands, we are amazed at reading (p. 71) that "the mildness shown to the Papists, joined to a severity towards the advanced Protestant movement, caused opposition to the Government to spring up in Parliament." Another puzzling statement occurs at p. 97:

Partly from regard to the adherents of Roman Catholicism, partly to defend its own prerogatives, the Crown became [in the seventeenth century] the champion of the constitution and doctrines of the Established Church against the Protestant sects.

That any such deference was paid to the views and wishes of the much afflicted Catholics of England by the early Stuart sovereigns we have yet to be convinced of. Nor do we imagine that the Catholics of England, on their part, concerned themselves in the slightest degree with the organisation of doctrine of the Establishment. Equally amazing is a remark about the work of the Reformation in Ireland. Speaking of the appointment of Browne, an apostate friar, to the Arch-bishopric of Dublin, and the natural failure of such a character to carry out among the children of St. Patrick Henry's schismatical

schemes, Herr Makower writes: "As nothing was to be done in the way of kindness, resort was had to legislation." Kindness forsooth!

Such are some of the few passages which strike us as objectionable; and such as they are we can forgive them for the excellent treatment of that "continuity" craze which has taken possession of the Church of England almost within the last dozen years. In an important section on "the relation of the reformed Church of England to the Church in England before the Reformation," the following deliberate judgment of a well-read lawyer, a foreigner too, and presumably one to whom the popular cry of the day is of little import, deserves to be widely read and brought before the notice of controversialists. Herr Makower says:

In English writers we are not seldom encountered by the contention that the development of the Reformation period was in uninterrupted connection with the past. For the most part, such statements merely imply that the transition from old to new was effected in valid form. But frequently they are to be regarded as assertions that a material difference in character between the English Church before and after the Reformation does not exist. In neither of the two senses can the contention in this general form be recognised as true. On the contrary, it needs considerable limitations. . . . Within the same limits as the independence of the ecclesiastical authorities in England, the power of the Pope to govern and make rules had been recognised for centuries by decisive acts of the State —e.g., by the conclusion of agreements as to the exercise of such powers. England had indeed, at least, with the declaration of independence of 1366, shaken off the yoke of the universal *temporal* monarchy which it was the aim [sic] of the Popes to establish; with respect to *spiritual* affairs, she had, however, still remained subject to the universal domination of Rome.

Now, seeing that at the beginning of the Reformation England, by resolution of her national representatives, renounced for the future all acknowledgment of the Papal authority, this step must be accounted revolutionary, and indicative of a distinct breach with the past. . . .

Side by side with this legal breach (*Rechtsbruch*), in respect of a material point in the constitution as hitherto recognised, is to be placed a whole series of smaller breaches of contract. Thus, for example, 24 Hen. VIII. c. 12 (restricting appeals to Rome) is in violation of the treaty of Avranches in 1172; similarly the abolition of Peter pence involved a breach of repeated and express engagements made by English kings to the Popes. . . . The real changes which ensued relate almost exclusively to the connection of the national Church with the Pope; they consist in the complete abolition of all Papal authority in England, and in the transference of almost all rights of government previously exercised by the Pope to the English sovereign. But herein was involved an alteration of the constitution of the Church in the very point which must be regarded as decisive.

Perhaps our extracts have been unduly long; our excuse must be the importance of the question at the present day, and the special value of so frank an opinion as that above expressed. We fear we have left ourselves scant space to do more than allude to the wealth of informa-

tion on all the topics treated of in this massive volume. The historical literature of the past fourteen centuries has been thoroughly ransacked to throw light on the machinery (so to say) of English Christianity, Catholic and Protestant, and the result is a book which deserves a place in every college library.

The Ethics of the Old Testament. By W. S. BRUCE, M.A.
Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1895.

THIS volume is one more proof of the interest taken in these days in the study of Old Testament Theology. Outside the Catholic Church it may be said that belief in traditional teaching as to the origin of the books of the Old Testament is dead. With the loss of that belief, a natural reaction affected the minds of many, leading them to disparage the value of the Historical and Prophetic books of the Old Law; and to underrate the importance of Old Testament ethics. The force of the reaction is now spent, and men are beginning to take up the study of the Old Testament from a new point of view; and to find in it a depth and value greater even than it was supposed to contain before. It is seen to contain the history of God's revelation to man; and to display a growth and development of that revelation, which, in a manner, continues to our own times; and which has led men from a state of comparative barbarism to a high state of civilisation and to a lofty standard of ethical uprightness.

Mr. Bruce's work is interesting, from a Catholic standpoint, more as an evidence of the interest taken in Old Testament ethics by those outside the Church, than as throwing any new light on the problem discussed. Indeed, in some places his views seem to be tinged with what may be called rather questionable doctrine. What does he mean by the following sentence :

Such a response is the outcome of a healthy moral feeling, and is removed by whole diameters from the Pharisaism that finds salvation in keeping the Commandments, and puts the Law in the place of the merciful Father, (p. 70) ?

Has Mr. Bruce ever heard of the word of Christ, "If thou wouldst enter into life, keep the Commandments?" Does Christ teach Pharisaism? Again, is Mr. Bruce serious when he says (p. 105) :

To make a carved image of Him the object of religious reverence is to transfer to senseless things the allegiance due to the Creator and Pre-

server of all; it is to derogate from His honour and to lower Jehovah to the level of the nature-gods of Moab and Ammon.

Does Mr. Bruce really suppose that making an image of Jehovah, for devotional purposes, knowing that it is not God, is the same thing as paying Divine honours to a statue of wood or stone? The fact that the Israelites were forbidden to reverence images was clearly because of the danger of their lapsing into idolatry.

A few blemishes of this kind are to be found throughout the book. On the whole, it is sound and commendable. A contrast is drawn between the Ethics of the Old Testament and of the Pagan nations of antiquity, in which it is shown that the defect of the latter was the absence of a knowledge of sin. The Decalogue is analysed at considerable length, and later on it is shown that there is a development in ethics throughout the Old Testament. A chapter is devoted to the Old Testament view of a Future Life; and finally certain moral difficulties arising from the Old Testament are set forth and answered:

Our whole discussion [writes Mr. Bruce, p. 290] may now be summed up in the conclusion that one grand moral purpose has ever presided over its development. That purpose we have traced in Mosaic legislation, in prophetic inculcation of justice and righteousness, in the wise man's enforcement of prudence and the fear of God. The divineness of the course is apparent in its results. Other nations ended as they began; but throughout Israel's history there was a dynamic energy, constructively working for a purer morality.

J. A. H.

The International Critical Commentary on the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. Deuteronomy, by Rev. S. R. DRIVER, D.D. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. 1895. (Pp. xcv., 430).

THE "International Critical Commentary," now being published by Messrs. Clark of Edinburgh, conjointly with Messrs. Scribner of New York, is undoubtedly the most important Biblical work which has yet appeared, either from the English or American press. Other English commentaries of more or less excellence are already before the public, such as "The Cambridge Bible for Schools," "Handbooks for Bible Classes and Private Students," "The Speaker's Commentary," "The Popular Commentary," and the "Expositor's Bible"; but they are mostly of a popular or homiletic character; and some of them do not pretend to be more than schoolboys' manuals. It is true that many advanced text-

books, dealing with the more complex questions of criticism, have appeared in Germany, and that some of them have been translated into English; it is true also that many special commentaries have been published in England within the last few years by men of high standing as exegetes and Biblical scholars. But no complete commentary upon the books of Sacred Scripture, written from a critical standpoint, has yet been produced; and "the time has come, in the judgment of the projectors of this enterprise, when it is practical to combine British and American scholars in the production of a critical, comprehensive commentary, that will be abreast of modern biblical scholarship, and in a measure lead its van."

No doubt there will be much in the new series with which the Catholic student will be unable to agree, but on the other hand there will be a great deal for him to learn. Perhaps many will find the commentaries too technical, and requiring too careful a study; and indeed it is certain that the new work will be of a thoroughly scholarly kind, intended either for those who have already made a careful study of Sacred Scripture, or who are now desirous of becoming fully acquainted with it. But for all, the introduction by which each book will be preceded, "stating the results of criticism upon it, and discussing impartially the questions still remaining open," cannot fail to be of interest. Two things are certain regarding the forthcoming Commentary, judging by the names of those who are engaged upon the volumes, e.g., Cheyne, Kennedy, Adam Smith, Driver, A. B. Davidson, Kirkpatrick, Sanday, &c. (1) firstly, it will be thorough, scholarly and abreast of the latest developments of Biblical science; and (2) secondly, it will be pervaded by a reverential tone, such as ought to be present in all works on Sacred Scripture.

The first volume of the new series has already appeared, and, doubtless, been mastered by many enthusiastic students. Dr. Driver had already written a good deal upon Deuteronomy in his *Literature of the Old Testament*; and, naturally, in the present volume he works out in greater detail the views already expressed in his earlier treatise. To follow him in his exegesis throughout the commentary would require a volume. Perhaps, therefore, the most satisfactory plan to pursue will be to make two quotations from Dr. Driver: one, in which he explains the stages by which Deuteronomy assumed its present form; and the other, in which he shows that what is new in Deuteronomy is not the matter, but the form.

Chronologically [he writes (p. lxxvii.)], the parts first written were the Blessing (c. 33), and the excerpts from JE (of course, in the original form of this document, with intermediate passages, completing the narra-

tive, which have now been superseded by, or absorbed in, Dt.) The kernel of Dt. consists undoubtedly of c. 5–26, 28; and this, with short historical notices at the beginning (viz., 4^{44–49} in a briefer form) and end, constituted the law-book of Josiah. It was probably preceded by the parts of c. 1–4 noted in the Table; though most recent critics are of opinion that these chapters were prefixed to it afterwards. Some little time after the kernel of Dt. was composed, it was enlarged by a second Deuteronomic writer (or writers), D², who (1) supplemented the work of D by adding the passages indicated; (2) incorporated, with additions of his (or their) own, the excerpts from JE, and (taking it probably from a separate source) the Song 32^{1–43}, with the historical notices belonging to it 31^{6–22} 32⁴. Finally, at a still later date, the whole thus constituted was brought formally into relation with the literary framework of the Hexateuch as a whole by the addition of the extracts from P.

The second passage is as follows (p. lvi.):

Dt. [says Dillman truly] is anything but an original law-book. The laws which agree with those of the Book of the Covenant can be demonstrated to be old: those which agree with it have the presumption of being based upon some common older source; the priestly usages alluded to are evidently not innovations: the laws peculiar to Dt. have, with very few exceptions, the appearance either of being taken directly, with unessential modifications of form, from older law-books, or else of being accepted applications of long-established principles, or the formulation of ancient customs, expressed in Deuteronomic phraseology. And such laws as are really new in Dt. are but the logical and consistent development of Mosaic principles. All Hebrew legislation, both civil and ceremonial, however, was (as a fact) derived ultimately from Moses, though a comparison of the different codes in the Pentateuch shows that the laws cannot all in their present form be Mosaic: the Mosaic nucleus was expanded and developed in various directions, as national life became more complex, and religious ideas matured.

A comparison of the two passages quoted above will show Dr. Driver's position relative to the composition and character of Deuteronomy. The book, in its original form, he considers to have consisted of c. 5–26, 28, with a short notice at the end, and certain portions of the first four chapters. This work would have been written during the reign of King Manasseh; and it was enlarged later by a second writer (D²); and, at a still later date, when it was brought into relation with the literary framework of the Hexateuch.

Though, however, Deuteronomy was not written before the reign of Manasseh, it is nearly all based on much earlier materials. Thus the legislation, of which it is so largely composed, is derived from earlier law-books, and much of it springs originally from Moses himself. So, too, the Song (32^{1–43}), the Blessing (c. 33), and the excerpts from JE, are all considerably older than the time of Manasseh; and what Dr. Driver lays down is, that these earlier materials were compiled by the redactors of Deuteronomy into a volume in the reign of Manasseh, and discovered by Hilkiah in the temple during the reign of Josiah.

J. A. H.

Grammaire Hebraïque Élémentaire. Par MGR. ALPHONSE CHABOT. Librairie Victor Lecoffre. Paris: 90 Rue Bonaparte.

MR. CHABOT'S grammar, of which the present copy is the fourth edition ("revised, corrected, and augmented") fully shows that in the Seminaries in France the important study of Hebrew is not neglected. As a new addition to Hebrew literature and as a further means for the understanding of the Sacred Scriptures we heartily welcome it, although we cannot help remarking that the author would have done well had he consulted some of the more recent books published on Hebrew Grammar and Syntax, such as that by Dr. Wynkoop, Prof. Driver, and Dr. Davidson.

From Dr. Wynkoop's Grammar the author could have seen how much better is the method of arranging the verbs of the category of סְבַב and סְמַךְ into a third and separate group of irregular biliteral verbs, instead of treating them as נָחַת עַתִּיד. The theory that those verbs are biliteral is, says Dr. Wynkoop, "an old but not antiquated opinion which prevents a great deal of confusion." In like manner Dr. Driver's "Hebrew Tenses" or Dr. Davidson's Syntax would have taught the author that the Perfect has not "ordinairement le même sens que le *présent historique* des Latins," and that it is not "le temps de la narration." It would have been better also if the names Perfect and Imperfect had been adopted for the tenses עֲתִיד and עָכֵר instead of the wrong names Past and Future.

Mgr. Chabot's Grammar, moreover, is not quite complete. Some things are omitted, which ought to have been found even in an elementary grammar. We would just wish to point out a few omissions we have noticed.

§ 24. *Waw conversive.* The change of accent caused by *waw conversive* when joined to the Imperfect is well indicated, but it is not stated that the *waw conversive* with the *Perfect* changes the verb from מְלֻאָה into מְלֻעָה, except in pause, and when the penultimate is an open syllable.

§ 45. The formation of the plural. The terminations constituting the plural and dual are given, but the rules, with the exception of those regarding the segolate forms, § 48, are omitted for the change of vowels which a noun undergoes before it receives its plural ending.

§ 46. Status Constructus. In this paragraph is omitted: (1) that the nouns ending in הַנִּ are changed into הַנִּ ex. gr. שָׂמֵחַ field, into הַנִּ; (2) that the *segolate forms* with ' and ' change the ' into

cholem and the ' into *sere*; ex. gr. בֵּית מוֹת death פִּתְּחָה house; (3) the rule for the change of vowels which plural and dual nouns undergo before they can be placed in the *status constructus*.

§ 62, 63, 64. The use of the Perfect and Imperfect Tense. These paragraphs, we think, are the least successful of the whole book. Certain things of great importance are entirely omitted. Nothing for instance is said about the frequentative sense which the Simple Imperfect or the Perfect with *waw* sometimes have. Yet these primary rules for the use of the tenses are absolutely necessary to understand rightly the text of the historical books.

The strong feature about Mgr. Chabot's book is its lucidity, but it would we think be of advantage to English students, as we understand it is the author's intention to give an English translation, if some attention were given to make it more complete.

C. V. D. B.

Annus Asceticus Norbertinus, &c. Rev. MARTINUS GEUDENS,
Can. Reg. Præm. Typis Orphanotrophii Fratrum Charitatis de
Buckley Hall apud Rochdale.

WERE it only to enable one to read in the original the gems of thought which sparkle in the writings of the Saints, Latin would be profitably kept up in Catholic schools. The dead language of the masters of the world, which in the hands of the Church and under the influence of the quickening spirit of her holy children has passed into a higher life and become endowed with the fecundity and resourcefulness of the mother of all the living, possesses a wealth of Christian classics which should commend it to every student of the beautiful and the true. For to whom a Latin text is as the face of a dear and familiar friend Father Geudens, of the Premonstratensian Canons, Miles Platting, has prepared a most appetising refection. Under appropriate headings the author has collected extracts from the writings of Norbertine saints which furnish us with spiritual thoughts for every day in the year. These extracts are so grouped as to illustrate twelve subjects, one for each month. Thus the compilation does not suffer from the desiccant diffusiveness so frequently prevalent in collections of ascetical texts. The quotations are rich in building materials for the devout soul. Diluted after the approved methods of many contemporary books of spiritual reading, the contents of Fr. Geudens' brochure would fill volumes. Many of the names which the learned Canon quotes in his book will be unfamiliar to his readers unless their

studies have led them into the byways of hagiology. If this modest collection attains the honours of a second edition its value would be enhanced by a short biography of the writers. It may not be unnecessary to add that the book, whilst appealing directly to members of the Norbertine Order, will be found helpful by all Latin-reading Catholics. The type and get-up generally reflects credit on the Buckley Hall Press, but we have noticed with regret a few avoidable misprints, of which two are on the cover.

G. H.

La Vie pour Les Autres. Par L'ABBÉ PIERRE VIGNOT. Deuxième édition. Un vol. in-12. 3 frs. 50. Paris : Poussielgue. 1895.

THIS book is made up of Conferences preached by the author in the chapel of the École Fénelon, Paris. It is many a long year since so remarkable a work has come from the pens of the French clergy. That Abbé Vignot's "Conferences" should, in less than two years, run into a second edition, speaks well for the seriousness with which his countrymen are beginning to approach the vital questions of the hour.

Altruism has been tried and found wanting. "La Vie pour les Autres" preaches the unselfish and ennobling love of humanity. From cover to cover the talented *conférencier* sticks to his subject and delivers his soul of one coherent and unmistakable message to a suffering world. The Papal pronouncement on labour, "*De conditione opificum*," has inspired the Parisian priest, and faithful to the teachings of him who is the Vicar of Jesus, once an apprentice, and the successor of Peter the Fisherman, Father Vignot gives out no uncertain sound. In six addresses he sums up the miserable conditions under which the bulk of mankind groans in our civilised lands, the remedies at hand, the prescriptions of Justice and Charity, the obstacles in the way of relief, and the channels through which private individuals can judiciously satisfy brotherly love and compassion.

In words breathing the highest eloquence Abbé Vignot pleads the cause of the poor, but never does he cease to be moderate. While vigorous, his language keeps always within the bounds of fairness, and observes the canons of literary taste. Holy Scripture, history, and experience are brought in, each in its turn, to emphasise and illustrate the theme of the sacred orator, with the result that every argument becomes stronger and clearer. The letter of Leo XIII., studied after this course of religious Conferences, should work out

its noble purpose in every Christian heart. Any English translation of Abbé Vignot's book would make an excellent present for a free library or Mechanics' Institute.

Fontes juris ecclesiastici novissimi. Decreta et Canones Sacrosancti Oecumenici Concilii Vaticani una cum selectis constitutionibus Pontificiis aliisque documentis ecclesiasticis. Edidit atque illustravit Philippus Schneider S. T. D., Professor jur. can. in Lyceo Regio Ratisbonensi. Ratisbonæ, Neo Eboraci et Cincinnati. Sumptibus et typis Friderici Pustet, 1895. vi. et 136 pag. 8vo.

PROFESSOR SCHNEIDER'S book puts into the hands of students of Canon Law the most important constitutions and regulations of the Holy See and the Congregations, promulgated during the last thirty years. He deserves our thanks not only for collecting the material dispersed in different books and pamphlets, but also for the explanations taken from recent decisions of the Roman Congregations, and only to be found in periodicals or quite recent editions of handbooks of Canon Law. The book contains on pages 71 and 128 two recent suspensions "late sententiae R. Pontifici reservatae," promulgated only towards the end of 1894. Amongst the "Constitutiones circa Regulares," we should like to find the Decree "Auctis admodum." (S. Cong. Ep. et Reg. Nov. 4, 1892.)

L. N.

The Sacramentals of the Holy Catholic Church. By Rev. A. A. LAMBING, LL.D., Author of "A History of the Catholic Church," &c. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers, Printers to the Holy See. 1896. 325 pages.

WE heartily welcome the reprint (2nd edition) of this instructive little book, which first appeared in 1892. It will prove useful both to clergy and laity. In the next edition, which we hope will soon be necessary, we should like to see the illustrations facing pages 220 and 302 replaced by others which really represent the actions described in the text.

L. N.

Thoughts on Religion. By the late GEORGE JOHN ROMANES, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S. Edited by CHARLES GORE, M.A., Canon of Westminster. London: Longmans, Green & Co., and New York, 15 East 16th Street. 1895. Pp. 184.

M R. ROMANES commenced as a Christian. His earliest essay was a defence of the Christian doctrine of the efficacy of prayer. This essay, which gained the Burney Prize at Cambridge, was published in 1874. Two years later his faith was gone, for by this time he had written his "Candid Examination of Theism," which questioned the existence of God. A few years later Romanes gave evidence that in his case a reaction against scepticism was setting in, and in the last year or two of his life he made a careful study of some well-known "Apologies" for Christianity. The results of his study are apparent in "Thoughts on Religion." Before his death, Mr. Romanes once more declared his acceptance of the Christian faith. Canon Gore writes: "It will surprise no one to learn that the writer of these 'Thoughts' returned before his death to that full, deliberate communion with the Church of Jesus Christ, which he had for so many years been conscientiously compelled to forego." We cannot accept this statement. We can very well understand a man's being conscientiously compelled to forego communion with the Anglican Church; but no man ever has been or ever will be conscientiously compelled to reject Christianity. The man who, having once possessed the gift of faith, rejects Christianity, sins morally against his conscience. The gifts of God are without repentance, and this is especially true of the gift of faith, which is at the very root of the spiritual life. If then faith is lost, it is lost by a man's own fault. Had Romanes lived, there is no doubt that he would have done his utmost to repair the mischief he had worked by his antitheistic writings. The "Thoughts" may be regarded as notes which would have been developed into a reasoned defence of Christianity. One or two quotations from these "Thoughts" will be read with interest.

Even within the region of pure reason (or the *prima facie* case) modern science, as directed on the New Testament criticism, has surely done more for Christianity than against it. For, after half a century of battle over the text by the best scholars, the dates of the Gospels have been fixed within the first century, and at least four of St. Paul's epistles have had their authenticity proved beyond doubt. . . . There is no longer any question as to historical facts, save the miraculous, which, however, are ruled out by negative criticism on merely *a priori* grounds. . . . These are facts of the first order of importance to have proved. Old Testament criticism is as yet too immature to consider.

Or, again :

At one time it seemed to me impossible that any proposition verbally intelligible as such, could be more violently absurd than that of the doctrine of the Incarnation. Now I see that this standpoint is wholly irrational, due only to the blindness of reason itself promoted by (purely) scientific habits of thought. "But it is opposed to common sense." No doubt, utterly so; but so it *ought* to be, if true. Common sense is merely a (rough) register of common experience; but the Incarnation, if it ever took place, whatever else it may have been, at all events cannot have been a common event. "But it is derogatory to God to become man." How do you know? . . . Lastly, there are considerations *per contra*, rendering an Incarnation antecedently probable. On antecedent grounds these *must* be mysteries unintelligible to reason as to the nature of God, &c., supposing a revelation to be made at all. Therefore their occurrence in Christianity is no proper objection to Christianity.

The "Thoughts" are of no great intrinsic value. But they are of interest as setting before us a mind groping after the truth which it had, *pace* Canon Gore, not *conscientiously* but *culpably* abandoned.

The Christian Doctrine of Immortality. By STEWART D. F. SALMOND, M.A., D.D., Professor of Theology, Free Church College, Aberdeen. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark, 38 George Street. 1895. Pp. 703.

DR. SALMOND maintains that a belief in a future life is universal. He shows that savage tribes, once considered to be wanting in this belief, have been found on fuller investigation to possess it. But it is one thing to believe in a future life, and another to believe that all will attain to it. The Tongans, as we learn from our author, reserve the future life for their men of rank; the Nicaraguans reserve it for the good, annihilation being the fate of evil-doers. And as savage tribes differ as to the inheritors of future life, so they differ as to the scene of it. Some hold that the scene of the future life is the earth itself; others locate it in the skies; but with the greater number it is a subterranean receptacle. Passing from the "ethnic" to the "Old Testament" preparation for the Christian doctrine of immortality, Dr. Salmond maintains that a future life of some form is one of the things most obviously presupposed all through the Old Testament. But in the earlier works of the Old Testament the future life is not put forward as the theatre of God's retributive justice. It is in this life and not in the other that lot apportions itself to merit. There is no clear and certain indication that reward and punishment pass over into Sheol, far less that Sheol is its proper scene. The punishment

executes itself here in the sinner's fortune, name, and family. The reward also fulfils itself here, and in corresponding forms. The Book of Daniel, indeed, presupposes a judgment after death, and declares final moral awards for the individual, everlasting life for one class, everlasting abhorrence for the other; nevertheless, the heavenly blessedness which the New Testament has unveiled was hidden from the Old Testament believer. Discussing the teaching of the New Testament, Dr. Salmond finds it opposed to the theories of "conditional immortality" and "restorationism," and in favour of the finality of life's spiritual decision. There is much learning in this work of Dr. Salmond's, and evidence of much ability. But we must dissent from some of our author's views; and where we agree with him we find him at times wanting in clearness, at other times in settled conviction.

The Oxford Church Movement. Sketches and Recollections.
By the late G. WAKELING. With an Introduction by EARL NELSON.
London : Swan, Sonnenschein & Co. 1895.

"THE religious zeal which has been stirred up within the Anglican Establishment," says Lord Nelson, "has stimulated life among our Protestant nonconformists, while it is notorious that the secessions of our over-zealous friends to Rome have imparted new life and spirit to that communion also." This is a new departure. We used to be told that old Catholics were all very well, and that all the "proselytism," and the "bitterness," and the "Utramontanism" came from the converts. We now learn that these things are only a little of the "life and spirit" of the Church of England infused into the dry bones of our "communion."

The pleasantest feature of the late Mr. Wakeling's book is the specimen it affords of a simple-minded Anglican, apparently in good faith. He was evidently ever ready to be pleased with everything, to think well of everybody, and to thank God that His One True Church, that is to say, the Church of England, was so much "higher" than it had ever been before. He was constantly reminding himself of the terrible ecclesiastical enormities of the days of his youth, of the choirs in the galleries, the high-backed pews with doors to them, the "Amen-clerks," the "three-deckers," placed in front of the communion-table, the cushions on the latter, the panels with the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments, and even paintings of Moses and Aaron which stood over them, and the school-children sitting on the chancel-steps with their backs to the communion-table; and he seems to have been perpetually offering up mental *Te Deums* that these old

things were done away, and that all things had become new : that the millennium of choirs in the chancel, crosses, candlesticks, and vases of the very best brass on the communion-tables, and benches open at the ends, had come at last. "The secessions to Rome were of course one great trial and drawback to the movement," but "compared with the extent of the fifty years' influence, teaching, literature, devotion, and new spiritual life of the Church Movement," they "were but as a drop in the ocean." A very typical sentence is one which occurs in the description of the old chapel in Margaret Street :

Outside, after service, the hearty greetings and handshakes were a sight to see ; it was like a rallying-point for all friends of the movement. All was thoroughly English in heart and spirit, the idea of merely imitating another branch of the Church entered no one's head.

We have rarely taken up a book which lent itself more readily to criticism, or whose author oftener "gave himself away;" but, when we consider that Mr. Wakeling has gone where he has not been asked, "how well" he has written, but "how religiously" he has "lived;" and that, there, people are not punished for poor writing, pointless stories, feeble jokes, or invincible ignorance, we may well refrain from criticism and lay down our pen with feelings of charity and even respect.

A Forgotten Chapter of the Second Spring. By the Very Rev. Dr. CASARTELLI, M.A. London : Burns & Oates. 1895.

THIS little work has an importance quite disproportioned to its size, since it corrects the prevailing error of ascribing to the Oxford Movement too exclusive an influence in creating that revival of Catholic life in England of which the present generation has been a witness. The object of the learned author is, as he says, to show that "it was but one chapter, however glorious a one, in a complete history." He justifies this assertion by describing the wonderful work contemporaneously carried on by the Rosminian Institute, primarily through the instrumentality of two Italian members of the order, Fathers Gentili and Rinolfi. For the romantic circumstances by which the former was led to undertake his apostolate and the incessant labours of the itinerant missionaries, as well as the great results achieved by them both in reawakening Catholic zeal and in making converts from other sects, we must refer our readers to the pages of this interesting *brochure*, which is illustrated with portraits of those whose lives it narrates.

The Utopia of Sir Thomas More. By J. N. LUPTON, B.D.
Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895.

MR. LUPTON, one of the masters of St. Paul's School, has at various times edited several treatises, hitherto unpublished, of Dean Colet, founder of that school. He has now conferred another obligation on literature by publishing a new edition of the "Utopia," the great work of Colet's friend and neighbour, the Blessed Thomas More. The recent beatification of the holy martyr renders this work doubly welcome. But, irrespective of that consideration, the book recommends itself by its own merits as a perfect and scholarly edition of this famous work. It gives both the original Latin text from the edition revised and corrected by the author, and published by Froben at Basle in 1518, and the first English translation made by Ralph Robynson in 1551. The editor has chosen this in preference to Bishop Burnet's more accurate and scholarly version, on account of its priority and its vigorous and picturesque English. Both these texts are furnished with various readings derived from other editions. There are also three fac-simile illustrations from the originals, a glossary to Robynson's quaint English, and an excellent index.

Besides presenting an accurate version of the text, the editor has enriched his work with an introduction and copious notes, of which we can speak with unqualified praise. In the former Mr. Lupton gives a sketch of More's life down to the time of the composition of the "Utopia" in 1515. He discusses the circumstances which led to its composition and the source whence he derived the idea. He compares with it other ideals of a similar character both of ancient and modern times. Lastly, he gives an account of the early editions of the "Utopia," and of the various English translations. But the editor's chief merit lies in the copious and valuable notes with which he has illustrated the text. These leave nothing to be desired from any point of view. Whilst they explain everything in the text which requires elucidation, they are brief and concise, and bear witness to deep and wide research. Above all, they are characterised by a just and fair appreciation, and are utterly devoid of any approach to anti-Catholic bias or prejudice. In fact, we may say that there is not in the whole work a word to which a Catholic could reasonably take exception. A crucial instance of the editor's candour and impartiality will be found in the note (the longest in the book) in which he deals with the well-known passage where More describes the views held by the Utopians on the subject of religious toleration. No doubt More is not always to be taken *au sérieux*. In fact, he himself warns his reader not to do so. As Sir John Macintosh says: the author

regards his own theories "with almost every possible degree of approbation and shade of assent." Sometimes he satirises prevalent abuses by suggesting some opposite extreme: at others he pokes fun at current opinions by some whimsical exaggeration: or again, he merely indulges his playful and fanciful humour without any ulterior view.

Nevertheless, as Mr. Lupton observes in the passage above referred to, "More's tone is too serious, and the arguments he makes Utopus employ too solid and convincing to allow us to regard all this as merely proper to the romance." He then has to reconcile these theories with More's practice as Chancellor in dealing with heretics. He states the case with the utmost fairness, and concludes by quoting Fr. Bridgett's favourable summary (of whose "Life" he speaks in the highest terms). But he adds: "Many people will feel a difficulty in harmonising the two pictures."

We hope that this work will find its way into the hands of many who know little more of More's "Utopia" than the name. By its perusal they will be led to discover that Blessed Thomas More was not only a devout Christian, a religious reformer in the true sense, a brilliant wit and an erudite scholar, which they probably knew before, but that he was also several hundred years in advance of his age in the treatment of social and political problems.

F. W.

A Complete Manual of Canon Law. By OSWALD J. REICHEL, M.A., B.C.L., F.S.A., Author of "The See of Rome in the Middle Ages," &c. Vol. I. The Sacraments. London: Hodges. 1896.

TO prevent misconception of the character of this work, we may as well state at once that it does not emanate from a Catholic source, bears no ecclesiastical *imprimatur*, minimises Catholic doctrine, and bears on nearly every page of it evidence of its origin in the city of confusion. Where clearness is especially to be desired, to wit, in definitions of the subjects dealt with, clearness is the last thing we find; vagueness, puzzle-headedness, abound everywhere, and lead a Catholic reader to thank God that for him there is a Church with a voice speaking with authority, knowing its own mind, and teaching its children without hesitation all that is necessary for faith or morals. The definition, to begin with, of a sacrament is inadequate; the institution by Christ, apparently, is not a requisite. Confirmation is, we are told, only a part of baptism; and strange things are said about the conditions which must precede the coming of the Holy Spirit. With

regard to the Holy Eucharist it is no better ; things necessary or accidental are muddled up together ; the word "mass" occurs but once, and then only in a note.

But the book may serve a useful purpose if it brings any of those for whom it appears to have been written a little nearer to Catholic unity and practice. Apart from its doctrinal aspect, it is an interesting work, showing much research ; more research, in fact, than judgment. It is crammed full of out-of-the-way information about obsolete rites and customs, forgotten bye-laws of local churches, disciplinary enactments which are of interest now only to the antiquary. Such things have their purpose, but of what value they can be in the way of guidance, even to high-church Protestants, is a question we are not in a position to answer.

L'Allemagne et la Réforme. IV. L'Allemagne depuis le traité de paix d'Augsbourg en 1555, jusqu'à la proclamation du formulaire de Concorde en 1580. Par JEAN JANSEN. Traduit de l'Allemand sur la treizième édition, par E. PARIS. Paris : Plon. 1895.

THERE is no need to speak at any length of so well-known a work as Dr. Janssen's history of the Reformation in Germany. The original work has long since taken its place among the masterpieces of historical research ; its fulness, fairness, and faithfulness have won it the admiration of every reader. Of its influence in correcting the false opinions long current among a large number of Germans and others regarding the Reformation movement there can be no room to doubt, and those who have benefited most by the immense labour of Dr. Janssen have not been the descendants and admirers of the reformers. The French translation, which puts his work within reach of many more of our own countrymen than could profit by the original, has now reached the fourth volume, and carries down the history from 1555 to 1580. A glance at the table of contents shows that this period includes the Diet of Worms; the attempts to protestantise Wurtemburg ; the death of Melancthon ; the negotiations between the Council of Trent and the Reformers ; the counter-effects of the religious wars in France on the state of Germany ; the labours of the Jesuit missionaries in that country, Peter Canisius and others ; the rescue of Bavaria, and the overthrow of Calvinism in the Electorate. The history of these events is carefully given and without party bias. In every case recourse has been had to the earliest and most authentic records ; indeed, the author's references are almost bewildering by their multiplicity,

some three hundred writers having been consulted for the compilation of this volume alone.

Mémoires du Comte de Paroy. Publiées par ETIENNE CHARAVAY.
Paris : E. Plon, Nourrit et C^{ie}. , 1895.

THE Comte de Paroy, the author of these *Mémoires*, was born in 1750. Destined for a military career, he at an early age entered the Army, in which he remained, not without distinction, for over twenty-five years. To a knowledge of arms he added a considerable taste in artistic matters, and was himself a practical engraver of some note. An ardent supporter of the royal cause throughout the tempestuous days of the Revolution, he yet escaped both the fury of the mob and the secret hatred of the revolutionary leaders. It is true that he was several times arrested, and was almost within sight of the guillotine ; but he succeeded in saving himself by his tactful answers to interrogatories and his ability to conceal his identity by passing himself off as an artist. He was an intimate courtier, took part in the defence of the Tuilleries, and in every possible way served the royal family. All his money and property were seized ; he was left penniless through his devotion to his king ; for several years he was obliged to depend upon his earnings as an engraver. However, he had the satisfaction of living down both Robespierre and Buonaparte, and of seeing Louis XVIII. enter Paris. But he experienced the bitterness of finding that all his devotion to the House of Bourbon, and all his self-sacrifice on their behalf, was to meet with the basest ingratitude. Nevertheless, he never ceased to cry until his death, in 1824, "Vive le roi." His story is by no means a rare one.

Such mainly was his life, and such the reward of his trust in princes. Of his recollections, as recorded in the volume edited most carefully by M. Charavay, it can only be said that they are for the most part sane descriptions of very exciting events. Hardly any fresh light is thrown on any topic of importance, and the only novelty in the way of chatty reminiscence is a rather dull story about a distinguished schoolfellow, no less a personage than Mirabeau. Paroy appears certainly to have been an honest, straightforward man, who never allowed prejudice or passion to dominate his opinions. He does justice to his adversaries. Moreover, he seems to be generally reliable, never descends to exaggeration, and writes clearly and simply. But it cannot be said that the Comte de Paroy has contributed anything to the history of his times by keeping a diary and giving his views of the great social upheaval a century ago. All the informa-

tion he imparts has been given before, and frequently by more illustrious actors, in more vivid and picturesque language. Consequently the work before us, though it may be interesting as the account of far-reaching historical facts, given by an intelligent and well-nigh independent witness, is yet without any wonderful attractiveness. Beside recent *Mémoires* on the same subject, this book of the Comte de Paroy's reminiscences is inconscionably dull. In conclusion, some surprise must be expressed that Frenchmen can never be brought to see the importance, nay, the very necessity, of that most useful appendage, an index.

R. K.

La Campagne Monarchique d'Octobre 1873. Par CHARLES CHESNELONG. Paris: Librairie Plon. 1895.

OF the important incidents of our time, perhaps few are less remembered than the negotiations with a view to the re-establishment of the Monarchy in France less than a quarter of a century ago. The agent employed by the Monarchical party in Paris to confer with the Comte de Chambord was M. Charles Chesnelong, and, after a silence of more than twenty years, he has considered it his duty, in the interests of veracity and history, to give a full account of what took place. The result is a volume of more than five hundred pages, which, if somewhat open to criticism on the score of egotism and repetition, is nevertheless exceedingly interesting, eminently readable, and of considerable historical value.

The terrible war between France and Prussia of 1870-71 was over, Paris had been convulsed by the Commune, and order had been restored under the Republic. A Ministry, under M. Thiers as President, governed the country for some time, but was defeated in 1873, when Marshal MacMahon was elected in the place of Thiers. On the 27th of August the Comte de Paris went to Frohsdorff and did homage to the Comte de Chambord, both on his own account and on that of the Orleans family. In the French Assembly the three "Rights"—the Right Centre, the Moderate Right, and the Extreme Right—were all in favour of a Monarchy and of the Comte de Chambord as its candidate, though on somewhat varying conditions. M. Chesnelong, who had not become a Monarchist until 1871, joined the Moderate Right. Protestant England, he wrote, was ruling the seas; Protestant Prussia was ruling Europe; Protestant America was absorbing people from all parts of the world; and schismatic Russia was holding out its arms towards Constantinople and Asia. Humanly

speaking, Catholicism seemed to have had its day. But Catholics knew that it must survive while all else must perish, and French Catholics cherished the hope that they were destined to be the instruments not only of its survival, but of its restoration to full power; and it seemed to M. Chesnelong that Monarchy would be the means ordained by Providence to this great end.

The different Legitimist parties in Paris agreed to appoint a commission of nine members to arrange the terms on which the Comte de Chambord was to be offered their united support, if he would come forward as a candidate for the crown of France. The question upon which there was the least unity of opinion, concerned the colour of the national flag under the proposed Monarchy. Some were for reviving the old white flag of the French kings. If they were to have a king at all, said they, he ought not to be the king of the Revolution, but the king by right divine; and the tricolour was the emblem of the great revolt against Monarchy. Marshal MacMahon, on the other hand, refused to support the candidature of the Comte de Chambord if the tricolour, under which France had won many of her most glorious victories, was to be abolished; most of the generals shared his opinions on this subject, and it was believed that the loyalty of the whole army would depend upon the retention of the flag to which it was so strongly attached. There were others who suggested, as a compromise, that the national flag should be tricoloured on one side and white on the other, and that on either side should be placed a *fleur-de-lis*. Preliminary conditions on this and other questions having been agreed upon, M. Chesnelong was selected to negotiate, single-handed, with the Comte de Chambord.

On the 14th of October, M. Chesnelong arrived at Salzburg, and was there received by the Comte de Chambord, no one else being present at the interviews. The constitutional conditions laid down by M. Chesnelong, on behalf of his colleagues, were accepted by the Prince with little, if any, hesitation; and if difficulties or misapprehensions presented themselves to his mind on first hearing them, they were speedily dispelled; but, when the subject of "le drapeau" was mentioned, it was quite another matter. He declared that he had no vulgar desire for power, for its own sake; but that he would be glad to sacrifice his life for his country. There were none the less two things which even France could not fairly ask him to yield—namely, his principles and his honour; both of which he declared to be deeply affected by the question of the flag. M. Chesnelong replied that, if the tricolour had begun as the emblem of revolution, it had ended by becoming that of law and order. Beneath the tricolour, France had

not only won numberless glorious victories over her enemies, but had defended society, civilisation, and the Papacy itself, from the invasions of anarchy and the ravages of communism. With the tricolour in her hand again, France was about to welcome Henri V. as her king, and to replace him on the throne of his forefathers.

She was not going to ask him to renounce either his flag or his principles; nor ought he, on his side, to require her to resign a flag associated with her greatest triumphs as well as her patriotic sufferings. While M. Chesnelong assured the Prince that his throne, and with it the welfare and the future of his country, depended upon his toleration, in some form or other, of the tricolour, and recounted the avowals of the Duc de Broglie, Marshal MacMahon, the Duc Pasquier, and General Changarnier that, without it, a restoration of the Monarchy would be impossible, the Prince remained silent, calm, dignified, and apparently unmoved; but, after a pause, he exclaimed: "I will never consent to the tricolour!" After much discussion, and at the earnest entreaty of M. Chesnelong, the Prince at last promised to endure the presence of the tricolour until he had ascended the throne, provided that the whole question of what should be the national flag should afterwards be submitted for his consideration, and that the matter should finally be decided by himself and the Assembly.

On the return of M. Chesnelong to Paris there were anxious meetings of the various sections of the Monarchical party. On the whole things appeared to promise very well, until the journals, both Legitimist and Liberal, made exaggerated statements of the position, and gave incorrect reports of what took place at a great Monarchical meeting. The disastrous effects of half-truths soon became apparent, and, worse still, a letter from the Comte de Chambord himself made confusion worse confounded.

In this letter he declared that he would never become the "King of the Revolution." The white flag had always led the way to victory, and he was now asked to sacrifice the symbol of his principles and the pledge of his honour. His person was nothing; his principle was everything. There was much to the same effect; but the letter, eloquent, though rhapsodical, might have done no great harm if the Prince had not sent a copy of it to the *Union* for publication, at the same time that he forwarded it to M. Chesnelong. The result of its appearance in the public press was decisive. The Monarchical campaign was at once brought to an end, and, within three weeks, the "Septennat" was voted.

The Comte de Chambord, says M. Chesnelong, was, and will remain in history, one of the noblest and most attractive characters

of his period ; and, after paying a high tribute to his piety, our author tells us that, on social and political questions, the Prince was at the same time very generous and very obstinate ; that he was guilty of a grave error, from the consequences of which his country has suffered grievously, and is likely long to suffer ; but that in erring he believed himself to be sacrificing his personal interests rather than sully his honour, and to be refusing a crown rather than repudiate his principles.

Strangers at Lisconnel. By JANE BARLOW. London : Hodder & Stoughton. 1895.

WE can scarcely pass a greater panegyric on Miss Barlow's recent volume than to say it forms a worthy sequel to her first, with which it is classed on the title-page, as "A Second Series of Irish Idylls." Untrammeled by the exigencies of a connected plot, she shows at her best in these detached glimpses of Irish peasant life, with its pathos idealised, and its very squalor glorified by her poetic imagination. It is interesting in this respect to contrast her work with that of another lady equally eminent in the same field, and to place her picture of Irish manners beside that given by Miss Emily Lawless in "Grania." Both are true, but the shadows in the latter form its sombre foundation, while in the former they are almost lost in the artist's light-focussing vision. Miss Barlow's inciseness of descriptive epithet enables her to transfer to her pages with a few touches the glow and colour of the scenery of Connemara, with its "fairy-zoned July sunsets," its fields of potatoes and oats "green and gold, meshed in their grey stone fences," and its purple mountains with ravines and fences and fields showing through the mist on their flanks, "as if a fragment of the country-side were reflected on a dark thundercloud." The very dandelions "set flat in the fine sward like mock suns" are not forgotten, nor "the silky floss" of the bog-cotton that waves over the peaty morass. Human traits are outlined with equal insight, and with a profound sense of the tragedy underlying the superficial aspects of life.

The Life of a Conspirator. Being a Biography of Sir Everard Digby. By the Author of "The Life of a Prig," &c. London : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. 8vo. xvi.-306.

THE history of the Gunpowder Plot has certainly been told and discussed often ; but in "The Life of a Conspirator" the atti-

tude of English Catholics as regards the plot, and in many cases their complete ignorance of it, is very clearly brought before us.

The book is principally the account of the life (and death) of one man concerned with that horrible conspiracy; but of necessity it includes many characters, and Catesby's overwhelming influence over all the Catholics with whom he came into close contact, and especially over the hero of the book, Sir Everard Digby, is plainly shown.

The author in this life of his ancestor has portrayed his character with great fairness and impartiality. He shows Sir Everard, though of a conscientious and deeply religious mind, to have had always a natural bent towards strategy, and what, to modern eyes, might seem like underhand ways; but which were doubtless, in the days of Elizabeth and James I., necessary precautions in a convert.

The same fairness characterises the author's comments on the position of Catholics in our country at that time.

The book deals with Sir Everard's personal history, describes his own and his wife's conversion, his own intimate connection with the Jesuits, as well as his great, almost brotherly, love for Father Gerard, the member of that order who received him into the Church.

In reading this account one cannot for a moment doubt Sir Everard's good faith in joining the conspirators. But one does wonder how so naturally good and upright a gentleman should not have seen the iniquity of the plot which he bound himself to aid and abet. It is accounted for to some extent by the latent weakness of character and the unbounded devotion to his friends displayed by him all through his short and troubled life. That he acted through no selfish motives is plain; for he gave up, for what he considered the good of his faith and fellow-Catholics, his wife, his little children, and his home, to say nothing of his wealth and position, at the instigation of Robert Catesby, in whom he evidently believed with all his heart, and to whose account must be laid Sir Everard's whole connection with the Gunpowder Plot. The author's account of the trial of the conspirator in Westminster Hall is graphic in its simplicity, and draws our sympathies to the young man who, however misguided and wrong, stood his trial with dignity and calmness, heard his cruel sentence pronounced by Coke, with all its ghastly details accentuated, without flinching, and went to the scaffold owning his treachery, and repenting it, while he accepted his hideous death as an expiation for his crime. The book contains a portrait of Sir Everard, which represents him as a man looking far older than his years, which were barely five-and-twenty at the time of his death. There are pictures also of Gothurst (or Gayhurst as it is now called), the house that came to him with his wife, and in one of these is a mark showing the spot where was the

secret chamber, built by Sir Everard's desire, to provide a hiding-place for Catholics in time of need. This hiding-place, the author tells us, was demolished about twenty years ago.

The Fifth of November. By the Author of "Marion Howard," &c. London : Burns & Oates.

THE moral courage of a little Catholic boy in refusing to join in the No-Popery celebrations of the November anniversary, is made, in the first of these tales, the means by which an entire family are converted. Nor is its interest, or that of its three companion stories, marred by their aim at edification as well as entertainment, since the vivacity of the narrative renders them charming reading for old and young alike. As in the best religious stories, the moral is conveyed in the incidents themselves, and is nowhere obtruded by the writer, in the fashion which is the reproach of "goody-goody" literature. The only sermon here preached is the silent one of example, all the more efficacious because combined with the story-teller's art which gives life to the characters and incidents portrayed.

Our Own Story. By ROSA MULHOLLAND. London : Catholic Truth Society.

MISS MULHOLLAND'S name is a sufficient guarantee for the charm of her pages, and this collection of nine short tales shows no weakening of the spell by which she holds her readers. The longest is a novelette of nearly a hundred pages which gives its name to the volume, is full of incident and movement realised with imaginative grasp of the subject. The shorter episodes that follow stand out no less clearly in their more succinct treatment, and one or two exhibit the rare gift of pathos without exaggeration for the sake of effect.

* * * *Owing to the extra space required for the Sixty Years' General List of Articles (1836-1896), a number of Book Notices, as well as a list of Books Received, have had to be left over till next issue.*

THE DUBLIN REVIEW.

GENERAL LIST OF ARTICLES.

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¹ The list of authors in this series has been compiled by collation of the editorial memoranda published in the *Irish Monthly*, vols. xxi., xxii., with the lists in Oscott Library. In case of discrepancy not yet reconciled, * indicates the *I. M.* list; † the Oscott list.

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¹ "Note on Mesmerism by Palmer."†

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 V. Artists of the Order of St. Dominic. [J. M. Capes].
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 VI. The Portuguese Schism in India. [J. G. Wenham].
 VII. Effects of Catholicism and Protestantism on Civilisation. [Robertson].
 VIII. Allies' Journal in France. [Oakeley].

¹ So I.M., but Oscott: IV. Wenham, V. Campbell.

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 V. Curzon's Visits to Monasteries in the Levant. [Dr. Murphy].
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 IV. Duke of Argyll on the Ecclesiastical History of Scotland. [Dr. C. Russell].
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V. Ireland—Review of the Session.	[McMahon, M.P.].
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V. Protestant Ideas of the Confessional. [F. Oakeley].
VI. No-Popery Novels. [Dr. C. Russell].
VII. Essays of an Octogenarian—James Roche. [*Crollly, †Kelly].
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V. State Bishops. [Maxwell, M.B.].
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VI. Miss Sellon and her Sisterhood.	[<i>F. Oakeley</i>].
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V. Catholic and Protestant Hermeneutics— The Primacy.	[<i>Dr. C. Russell</i>].
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¹ In *J.M.* "Aubrey de Vere." See below.² In *J.M.* "Aubrey de Vere." But Mr. A. de Vere disclaims these articles (private note).

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¹ So I.M., Mr. A. de Vere disclaims the authorship.

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